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FOR SCHOOLS *Edited by*
EDWARD A. FREEMAN D.C.L.

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HISTORY OF FRANCE.

CHAPTER I.

THE MERWINGS AND KARLINGS.

1. Meaning of the name France.—The modern kingdom of *France*, in Latin *Francia*, is one of the states which arose out of the break-up of the great Frankish power at the end of the ninth century. It is one of two parts of the Frankish dominion which have to our own day kept the Frankish name. For *Francia* means the land of the Franks, wherever that land may be, and it has therefore meant different lands at different times. It gradually came to mean a certain part of Germany and a certain part of Gaul. The German *Francia* is the land which is still called *Franken* or *Franconia*. This German *Francia*, which was once of much greater extent than it is now, was distinguished as the *Eastern* or *Tentonic* Francia. The Gaulish Francia, which was distinguished in the same way as *Western* or *Latin* Francia, lay in the northern part of Gaul, but its name has been gradually spread over the greater part of Gaul. The princes of the Western Francia, whose capital was at Paris, became kings of the western kingdom of the Franks; and, as their power spread, partly by annexing the dominions of their vassals, partly by annexing lands altogether beyond their own kingdom, the name of their duchy of *France* spread itself wherever their power reached. Thus the greater part of Gaul came to be called *France*, and Paris came to be the head of so much of Gaul as formed the dominion of the French kings. *Gaul* then is a *geographical* name, meaning a certain part of the earth's surface. *France* is a *political* name, meaning such parts of Gaul as have formed the dominions of the French

dukes and kings of Paris. Besides France, the kingdom of Belgium, the Confederation of Switzerland, and a considerable part of the German Empire, all lie within the bounds of the Roman province of Transalpine Gaul. It must therefore be always borne in mind that *France*, in the sense in which we now use the word, does not translate either *Gallia* as used by the Roman writers, or *Francia* as used by the writers of the days of the Frankish dominion. The history of France therefore, in the modern sense, begins with the growth of the power of the dukes of the French in the ninth century. The earlier history of the lands which formed modern France belongs to the history, first of the Roman and then of the Frankish dominion. It is therefore given in the volumes which deal with Roman and German history. Here there is no need to do more than to give such a sketch as to make the growth of the strictly French power intelligible.

2. **Importance of Paris.**—It is well to mention at the very beginning that the capital of France stands in a special historical relation to the whole kingdom, unlike that of the capitals of most other kingdoms. The French dominion has not indeed been, like the Roman dominion, the dominion of a ruling city; yet the capital of France has always been something more than the capitals of other kingdoms. In most of the European kingdoms the seat of government has been changed, sometimes several times, according to caprice or convenience. But Paris is strictly the birthplace of the French nation. It was the lords of Paris who grew into kings of all that is now France, and the city has always kept that place in the kingdom which it had from the beginning. It is worth noticing that more than once in earlier times things looked as if Paris were going to become the head of Gaul. But the course of events which at last made it the head of the greater part of Gaul begin only with the growth of the French duchy in the ninth century.

3. **Roman Gaul.**—We will now give such a short account of Gaul under the Roman and Frankish dominion as is needful for our purpose. The *Gallia* of the Romans at first vaguely meant that northern country, on both sides of the Alps, which poured forth swarms of Celts, threatening, and once actually mastering, Rome herself. Then, with clearer knowledge, Gaul meant the northern portion of the Italian peninsula, and a tract beyond the Alps, where a few Greek cities had been built on the Mediter-

anean seaboard. *Cisalpine* Gaul was thus the Celtic country south of the Alps, *Transalpine* Gaul the lands to the north. The Romans first formed a *province* in Transalpine Gaul in B.C. 125, in the land which has ever since kept the name of *Provincia* or *Provence*. Like other Roman possessions, it grew, but not very fast, till in B.C. 58—51 the conquests of *C. Julius Cæsar* made the Roman power stretch over the whole country, from the Alps to the Atlantic, from the Pyrenees to the Channel. The staple of the inhabitants was Celtic; but the south-west was peopled by *Iberians*, and the north-eastern lands were *German*. *Cisalpine* Gaul became part of Italy under Augustus; so from that time Gaul meant only *Transalpine* Gaul. This, it must be remembered, is a purely geographical name, taking in so much of Germany as lay left of the Rhine. It formed three main divisions, not counting the original province. These were *Aquitaine* in the south-west, bounded at first by the Garonne and then by the Loire; *Celtic Gaul*, the central land, and *Belgic Gaul* in the north-east, taking in that part of Gaul which was more or less German.

4. The Roman Occupation.—Provence and Aquitaine soon became thoroughly Latin in language and customs. Indeed Latin everywhere overcame the native tongue, except in the north-western peninsula of Armorica, where the Celtic element was afterwards increased by a migration from Britain, so that the language has lasted to the present time, while the land took the name of *Britannia Minor*, the Lesser Britain or *Britanny*. Also on the skirts of the Pyrenean range the Iberians kept up their own speech, the *Basque* speech which is spoken still. Many great Roman cities arose in Gaul, as *Arelate* or *Arles*, *Lugdunum* or *Lyons*, *Augusta Treverorum*, that is *Trier* or *Trèves*. In Southern Gaul the cities mostly keep their old names. But in the north the city commonly bore the name of the tribe, and the tribe-name has commonly lived while that of the city itself has been dropped. Thus *Lutetia Parisiorum*, the city of the *Parisii* on the Seine, became *Paris*. Christianity came in the wake of the Roman power, and the Church gained a firm footing. The land was divided into ecclesiastical provinces and dioceses, which followed the civil divisions, and which are our best guides to them. The Archbishop of Lyons was and is Primate of all the Gauls, that is of all the three, Belgic, Celtic, and Aquitanian.

5. **Teutonic Attacks, A.D. 350.**—The north-eastern corner of Gaul was low, marshy, and full of rivers, over which the Teutons were continually coming to attack the Gauls and their Roman masters and defenders. The Emperors now had often to live in Gaul to defend the land. Augusta Treverorum or Trier then became an imperial city, but Julian was fond of living at Lutetia or Paris, the first time that Paris seemed to be coming to the front. In the course of the fourth and fifth centuries, the Teutons had entirely overcome Gaul, *Goths* in the south, *Burgundians* in the east, and *Franks* to the north, but without destroying the old population. Only “guests” of the conquering race were quartered on the native landowner, and required him to feed them, lodge them, and give them a share of the produce. The walled cities kept up their old framework of self-government on the Roman model. The Goths and Burgundians were Arian Christians at the time of their settlement. The Franks were converted to the Catholic faith while in the act of conquest under their king *Chlodovech* or *Chlodwig*, commonly called *Clovis*, the name which has been softened into *Ludovicus* in Latin and into *Louis* in French. Under Clovis and his sons the Franks won all Gaul and most part of what was then Germany; but they specially gave their name to their older German land and to the part of Gaul where they really settled. South of the Loire, where the West-Goths and Burgundians had already founded Teutonic kingdoms, the Franks did not settle, but only made political conquests. But north of the Loire they really settled, though they never became the mass of the people. Hence this land took the name of *Francia*, Latin or Western Francia, as has been already said. The two parts of Francia were also called the Eastern or German, *Austrasia* or *Austria*, the eastern kingdom, and the Western or Gaulish, *Neustria*, that is, the *not-eastern* or western kingdom. Of course the Frankish *Austria* has nothing to do with the land further to the east which was afterwards so called, though both were called for the same reason.

6. **The Merwings.**—Under Chlodwig then, the first Christian king of the Franks and the conqueror of Gaul, a great Frankish power arose, of which it seemed that Paris was going to be the head. But the dominions of Chlodwig were divided among his sons, and Paris became only one royal city among several. The history of the descendants

of Chlodwig, the *Merwings* or *Merovingians*, is strictly part of German history, and will be found in the German volume. So will also the account of the institutions which arose through the settlement of the German conquerors among the Roman provincials. The dynasty lasted till 753; but the Merovingian kings had already lost all power. The chief power had fallen to the house of the *Karlings*, the great Austrasian house who were *Mayors of the Palace* to the feeble kings, and were called *Dukes* or *Princes of the Franks*. Their rule greatly strengthened the Teutonic element in the Frankish kingdom, and Paris especially became of little account. In 753 the last Merwing *Chilperic* was deposed and *Pippin* was chosen king of the Franks.

7. **The Karligs.**—After Pippin came his son *Charles the Great*, Emperor of the Romans as well as King of the Franks. Under Pippin and Charles the Frankish dominion was completely German. So it was under Charles's son the Emperor *Lewis the Pious*, the last who reigned over the whole Western Empire. After him, the Frankish dominions were divided among his sons by the treaty of Verdun in 843. The middle portion, a strip reaching from the North Sea to the Mediterranean, was chosen by the eldest son *Lothar*. It took the name of *Lotharingia* after his son, and the name still survives in the duchy of *Lorraine*. *Lewis*, the next brother, had the eastern or German provinces, and *Charles the Bald* the west. Neustria had been given to him before, but on the death of his brother *Pippin*, Aquitaine was added to it. Thus *Karolingia*, or Charles's portion, the kingdom of the West-Franks, consisted of everything west of the *Scheldt*, *Meuse*, *Saone*, and *Rhone*, including Spain as far as the *Ebro*. The name of *Karolingia* died out, while the name of *Lotharingia* lived on; but they were names of exactly the same class. The kingdom was formed by a kind of accident, by the addition of Aquitaine to Neustria. And, as in the other kingdoms of the time, the kings had but small power, for the counts and dukes who ruled the provinces were fast growing into princes owing the king a mere nominal homage, and sometimes, especially in Aquitaine and Brittany, defying him altogether. Still the beginning of *Karolingia* or the Western Kingdom of the Franks marks a great era in our history. Charles the Bald became Emperor in 875, the only separate king of the West-Franks who was Emperor. Charles was

succeeded, in name at least, by his son and grandson, and in 882 all the Frankish dominions were joined again under the Emperor Charles the Third or the Fat, save only the kingdom of Burgundy, which had begun in 870 between the Rhone and the Alps. But in 887 Charles was deposed, and the empire was again divided. There was now a separate king of the West-Franks again, but he was no longer of the house of the Karlings.

8. Beginnings of the French Kingdom.—The beginning of the kingdom of *Karolingia* or of the *Western Franks* was one step towards the formation of the kingdom of France. Its boundaries did not differ very greatly from what the boundaries of the kingdom of France were for a long time. It was the first time that the Frankish dominions had been divided in at all the same way. It had been divided, or men had thought of dividing it, many times, both among the Merwings and among the sons of Charles the Great and Lewis the Pious; but no one had before thought of so dividing it as to put the whole western part of the Frankish dominions together as they now were. Then again, nearly all the people of the new kingdom, all except the people of Flanders at one end and the few Basques in their own corner, were people of the *Romance* speech. Men were now beginning to find out that the language which was commonly talked in those lands which had been provinces of the old Western Empire had come to be very different from the Latin of books. It was called *lingua Romana* or *vulgaris*, the Roman or vulgar tongue, as distinguished from the *lingua Latina* which men wrote. Now in the western part of the Frankish dominions men now spoke a Romance tongue, while in the east of course they spoke German. Two Romance languages were growing up, one in the northern lands beyond the Loire, in the Western Francia, which became the *French* tongue, the other in Gaul south of the Loire, which became the *Provençal* tongue. Perhaps men hardly distinguished them as yet, for no books were then written in either. Now the kingdom of Karolingia did not take in all who spoke Romance even in Gaul, for it did not take in Provence or the other Burgundian lands between the Rhone and the Alps. But it was, as was just now said, mainly a Romance-speaking kingdom. But the kings were still German, and their head city was *Laon* in the north-eastern corner towards Germany. But now many

causes began to give importance to Paris, the city on the Seine. This had been greater in Roman times, but now it had again shrunk up into the island in the river. During all this time the *Northmen*, the people of Scandinavia, were horribly ravaging the country, especially where there was a river that they could sail up. They besieged Paris three times during the time of Charles the Bald, and the only man with skill and bravery enough to make a stand was a warrior named *Robert the Strong*, who was placed in charge of the country between the Seine and the Loire and called Marquess, or Commander of the Mark (or border) of *Anjou*. Perceiving how Paris might check the course of the northern keels, he did his best to strengthen and protect it, so that *Count of Paris* became one of his titles and the beginning of the greatness of his line. But he could not hinder the city from being pillaged in 865, nor the great abbey of *St. Denys* from serving as free quarters for the Northmen, and in 866 he was killed in battle with them. This was the beginning of the strictly French power. Robert was the patriarch of the dukes and kings of the French who reigned at Paris. Paris was shown to be one of the now most important military posts in Gaul, and the house which was to become the royal house of France had begun to distinguish itself. And, though Robert himself was actually of German descent, yet the power which began with him had its seat in the Romance-speaking duchy of Western France, and so came into natural opposition with the German kings of the Karling house.

9. *The First King of Paris*.—During the reign of Charles the Fat the importance of Paris and her princes became greater than ever. In 885 there was a yet more famous siege of Paris by the Northmen, when there was a brave resistance under Abbot Hugh, *Gozlin, Bishop of Paris*, and *Odo*, son of Robert the Strong. The two first died during the siege, but Odo made his way through the enemy to Metz, to lay the case of the city before the emperor, and then forced a passage through the midst of the Northmen, who had assembled to bar his return. Charles gathered an army and came at last, but only, after the custom of weak princes, to pay the Northmen to retreat to the Yonne. And now, when Charles was deposed, and his empire again divided, the king whom the West-Franks chose was Count Odo, the hero of Paris. Being already *Duke of the Franks*, that

is of the Western Francia, he now was chosen king of *Karolingia*, or of the Western Franks, who were thus finally separated from their Austrasian brethren. There was thus for a moment a French-speaking king of the Western Franks reigning at Paris. But the reign of Odo was short, and his right was disputed. The blood of the Karlings was still so honoured that when *Charles the Simple*, the grandson of Charles the Bald, came forward, a number of nobles and bishops crowned him at Rheims. Odo died in 898, a time of great confusion, when his next brother, *Robert*, succeeded him as Duke of the Franks. Charles the Simple was now sole king, but in 922 *Robert* was chosen king. He was killed the next year, and then *Rudolf*, Duke of the Duchy of Burgundy, was chosen. This is that Burgundy of which Dijon is the capital, and which formed no part of the new kingdom of Burgundy, but was a fief of the Western Kingdom. Charles was at last murdered while in the hands of his kinsman, *Herbert, Count of Vermandois*. Rudolf reigned till his death in 936.

10. **Settlement of the Normans.**—While Charles the Simple was king, a new state was founded in Northern Gaul. The Northmen, who had so long wasted the land, had made permanent settlements in several places, specially at the mouth of the Loire. They now in 911 made their greatest settlement on the Seine at Rouen. This was done in a formal way by the grant of part of Duke Robert's duchy of France, namely the lands between the Seine and the Epte, to *Rolf Ganger*, called also *Rou* and *Rollo*, the most famous leader of the Northmen. This he held as a fief of King Charles. He and his successors gradually enlarged their dominions. The Northmen, settled in Gaul, learned to speak French; their name was softened into *Normans*, their princes were called *Dukes of the Normans*, and their land *Normandy*. The Norman dukes took from the beginning a place among the chief princes of the Western kingdom. And now that France and its capital Paris were coming to be the chief place in the kingdom, they were checked for a while by the settlement which took away from them their north coast, which gave the mouth of the Seine to the new power, and cut Paris quite off from the sea.

11. **Hugh the Great and King Lewis.**—Robert had been for a short time the second king of the house of Paris. His son *Hugh*, called the White and the *Great*,

succeeded him in the duchy of France, but he always refused to be king. On Rudolf's death he joined with the other chief princes of Northern Gaul, *Arnulf, Count of Flanders, William Longsword, Duke of Normandy,* and *Herbert of Vermandois*, in bringing back *Lewis*, the son of Charles the Simple. His mother, *Eadgifu*, was the daughter of our king Edward the Elder, and she and her son had found shelter with her brother *Æthelstan*. He now came from England, and became king of the West-Franks. His immediate dominion was only the city and territory of *Laon*, and his speech was Teutonic. He was an able and vigorous king; but his whole reign was one struggle with his powerful vassals, who took part with him or with each other as suited their interest at the moment. When William Longsword was slain in 943 by Arnulf of Flanders at the bridge of *Pecquigny* on the Somme, there was a great struggle for the possession of his lands and the person of his young heir Richard, of which King Lewis wished to get possession. The Normans were aided by *Harald Bluetooth, King of Denmark*, and Lewis by his brother-in-law Otto, king of the East-Franks, afterwards the Emperor Otto the Great. Lewis was made prisoner, and given into the keeping of Hugh of Paris, from whom he only purchased his freedom by the surrender of his stronghold of Laon. Richard now *commended* himself to Duke Hugh; that is, he became his man; so that it was now held that the Duke of the Normans was the man, not of the king, but of the Duke of the French. Hugh and Richard were close allies, and, on the other hand, Lewis gained the assistance of King Otto and *Conrad, King of Burgundy*. The three kings took Rheims, but failed in their attacks on Laon, Paris, and Rouen, and though they were forced to retreat beyond the Rhine, Lewis's fortunes rose from that time till his death in 954. Hugh then again refused the crown, and acknowledged Lewis' eldest son *Lothar* as king.

12. *Hugh Capet, 956*.—Hugh the Great died in 956, leaving two sons, *Hugh* and *Henry*, the eldest only thirteen, and under the guardianship of Richard of Normandy. Hugh is known as *Capet*, whether from the size of his head, or from the hood which betokened his hereditary right to be protector of the abbey of St. Denys, is uncertain. He was on good terms with King Lothar, and

made common cause with him. The borderland of Lotharingia had fluctuated backwards and forwards between the Eastern and Western kingdoms. Its people seem also to have preferred a German to a French king ; but a Karling above all. So now they revolted against the Emperor *Otto II.*, and called in Lothar, because of his Karling birth. All the Rhine country up to Aachen was ravaged, and this was returned by a German raid up to the gates of Paris. The French proposed that there should be a single combat between Otto and Lothar to settle the dispute, but the Germans answered, " We always heard that the French held their kings cheap, now we hear it from their own mouths." However, peace was made, and though Otto kept Upper Lorraine, he gave to *Charles*, the brother of Lothar, the duchy of *Lower Lorraine* or *Brabant*. Lothar reigned thirteen years longer, and died in 986 ; his son *Lewis V.* only survived him a year, and in 987, by general consent, Hugh Capet was crowned king at Rheims, by *Adalbero, Archbishop of Rheims*. From having been Duke of the Franks or of Western Francia, he thus became King of the Franks, *Rex Francorum*, and his duchy of France was added to the royal domain of the Kings of Laon. He was the third king of his line ; but now the crown stayed in his house for eight hundred years without change. From this time the name of the duchy of *France* spread itself, by the successive annexations of the Parisian kings, over all that part of Gaul which admitted their supremacy, and the name of *Karolingia* was forgotten. Rheims was always the coronation city, for the House of Paris claimed to be successors of Clovis, as they termed Chlodwig, and numbered their Charleses and Lewises from the Karlings. In truth however they represented the newly-formed French nation ; their speech was Romance, and Paris the capital of the duchy became the capital of the kingdom. From this time the title of *Rex Francorum*, as borne by the Western kings, is best translated by *King of the French*.

CHAPTER II.

THE EARLIER KINGS OF THE HOUSE OF PARIS.

1. Hugh Capet's Dominions, 987.—When Hugh Capet became king, he gained more in name than in actual power, though the title opened an infinite future to a family of ability. His actual personal lands, consisting of the duchy of France, less by what had been cut off by Normandy and Anjou, with the former royal territory of Laon, were in his own hands as immediate lord. As king he had a right to the homage of all the princes of all the Western kingdom; but he had no power south of the Loire, and not much north of it, except in France itself. In the north his chief vassals were his brother, Henry, Duke of Burgundy, the Karling Herbert, Count of Vermandois, *Fulk, Count of Anjou*, the head of a fierce and able family which had arisen at the same time as the House of Paris, and Richard, duke of the Normans, who claimed the homage of the Celtic duke of Brittany. In all these lands, except Brittany, was spoken the French form of Romance which is called the *Langue-d'-oil*, because their form of yes was *oil*, or *oui*, while the Romance of the country south of the Loire was called *Langue-d'-oc*, because they said *oc* (from the Latin *hoc*). The princes of these lands, from the Loire to the Ebro, the *Dukes of Aquitaine* or *Guyenne*, and of *Gascony*, and the *Counts of Foix, Narbonne, Toulouse, Roussillon*, and *Barcelona*, now and then paid grudging homage to the King of the French. In the north-east, the county of *Flanders*, where Low-Dutch was the language, was also a fief of the French crown. *Lotharingia*, which had hitherto fluctuated between the Eastern and Western crowns, was from this time always a fief of Germany.

2. War with Aquitaine, 990.—When Hugh was elected and crowned, he next caused his son Robert to be crowned king also, to secure his succession. This was very commonly done for some generations, and it helped to keep the crown in the family. But Hugh was opposed by the Karling Charles of Lorraine, who set himself up at Laon, and was supported by Duke William of Aquitaine and other

princes. Charles was overthrown at Laon, but when Hugh strove to enforce his claims in Aquitaine, and in 990 laid siege to *Poitiers*, he was driven back by Duke *William Fer-d-bras* after a fierce battle on the banks of the Loire, and never mastered that country. When the *Count of Perigord* had leagued with *Fulk Nerra* or the Black, *Count of Anjou*, against the *Count of Blois*, and was besieging *Tours*, and he refused to attend to the king's command, he replied to Hugh's demand, "Who made thee a count?" with, "Who made thee a king?" In effect the only way in which the kingly authority could be enforced was by siding with one set of vassals against another, or by balancing the interests of clergy and burghers against those of the nobles—a policy which prevailed in the long run, but which required a very able man to carry it out. Hugh Capet was a man of much less mark than his uncrowned father. He did nothing to check the lawless warfare between all the counts and barons around him; as indeed he had neither the means nor the ability to form such means. He was devout, and was sometimes called a king of priests. In truth the clergy were almost the only persons with any notions beyond the pettiest ambition and private strife; and a king who had a turn for better things, yet had not force of character to mould and train his nobles, could not but lean chiefly on his clergy.

3. *Robert II.* 996.—But when *Robert II.* succeeded his father as sole king, in 996, he was not only a king of priests, but a king of beggars. A mild, gentle, pious, man, hating violence, highly educated in the learning of the time, and of artistic and poetical tastes, his refuge was with the monks of *St. Denys*, whose guardian he was as *Count of Paris*. With them he sung in the choir, and for them composed Latin hymns, copies of which he laid on the altar of *St. Peter's* when he made a pilgrimage to Rome. Some are still in use. He was very charitable, and the poor flocked about him. He fed and clothed them, but knew not how to check the violence that made them beggars, and rendered the shortest journey perilous. In spite of his piety, he fell into trouble with the Pope, by his marriage with *Bertha*, daughter to *Conrad II.*, king of *Arles* and widow of the *Count of Blois*. Her brother, *Rodolf*, was childless, and was obliged to sell his rights to the Emperor *Otho III.*, lest Robert or his children should assert a claim through her

(their grandmothers having both been daughters of the Emperor *Henry I.*). *Pope Gregory V.* was induced by *Otho* to pronounce the marriage invalid, on the plea of kindred, and also because Robert had stood godfather to one of the children of *Bertha's* first marriage. The evidently political object of this separation emboldened Robert to resist it. He even endured excommunication for some time before he yielded and parted with *Bertha*.

4. **The Year 1000.**—To this he was probably led by the general belief that the 1000 years for which Satan is said in the Book of Revelation to be bound would end with the world itself in A.D. 1000. Everywhere people were preparing, breaking off with their vices, setting free their captives, making up quarrels, undoing wrongs, thronging the churches, confessing, doing penance, many in an agony of fear which hindered them from transacting business, and even from sowing their crops. Their dismay was increased by the news that the Khalif *Hakem* had ruined the church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem. When the new year dawned, it was like a renewal of life; but the alarm had not been wholly without fruit, for a certain sense of religion began from this time to show itself in the violent penances of the fierce barons, and the greatly increased zeal and strictness of the monastic orders. The king, by the Pope's direction, married *Constance*, daughter of the *Count of Toulouse*, a proud, passionate, woman, whose southern gaiety and frivolity were a great scandal to his rude and severe court. Robert had a certain pleasure in tricking her. He sang a hymn beginning "*O Constantia martyrum*," and she thought it a poem in her praise. When she caught a beggar stripping the gold fringe from his robes, he answered, "He wants it more than I do;" and when she had given him a lance decked with silver, he bade the next man who asked alms of him to fetch a knife, and going into a corner, picked off all the silver and gave it away. But he seems to have been cowed by her, for he allowed the murders which she caused to go unpunished.

5. **The First Execution for Heresy, 1022.**—The religious ferment awoke discussion, and two priests of Orleans, one of whom had been the queen's confessor, were tried before a synod, and found guilty of denying the Manhood of our Blessed Lord. The king condemned them to be burned, and this was the first execution for heresy on

record. Constance added brutality to the cruelty of the act by striking out the eye of her old confessor with her iron-tipped staff as he passed her on his way to the hut in which he and his companion were shut up while it was burned over their heads. The last years of Robert's reign were darkened by the dissensions of his sons. The eldest was imbecile, and when he wished to crown *Henry*, the next brother, Constance set up her favourite, *Robert*, in opposition, but Henry prevailed, and was crowned in 1027.

6. *Henry I.*, 1031.—When, in 1031, Henry I. succeeded to the throne, his mother and brother made war on him, and he only prevailed by the aid of *Robert, Duke of the Normans*, called the Magnificent. He bought off his brother Robert with the Duchy of Burgundy, which had returned to the crown on the death of his uncle in 1003. Three bad harvests caused, in 1032, such a famine all over the continent as had seldom been known. Multitudes died, all sorts of carrion were eaten, and a man was even seized in the market-place of *Tonnerre* selling human flesh. Wolves prowled about, devouring the unburied corpses and attacking the living who were too weak to defend themselves from them, and though the bishops sold the church plate to gain supplies for the poor, the scarcity was such that money hardly was of use, until, in 1033, a wonderful crop, equal to five ordinary harvests, put an end to the general distress.

7. *The Truce of God*.—While the remembrance of the famine was fresh, Richard, bishop of Verdun, together with many of the other bishops, abbots, and other clergy throughout Aquitaine, Burgundy, and France began to preach peace on earth and to denounce the horrible violences that were continually being committed. Synods were convoked, at which rules were drawn up which were enforced on the nobles under pain of excommunication. They were made to swear to strike no blow in a private quarrel, to attack no unarmed person, to permit no robbery or violence. Thus the Church tried to make up for the weakness of the law, and her threats were so much dreaded that, when *Hugh, Count of Rodez*, first set the example, few refused to swear to this *Peace of God*. But five years trial showed that ferocity could not be entirely repressed, and that a broken oath only made recklessness worse. So for it was substituted the *Truce of God*, which forbade all fighting from Thursday

evening till Monday morning, as well as in Lent, Advent, and the greater festivals, nor might fortifications be worked at in the meantime, unless they had been begun a fortnight before. The bounds of sanctuary around churches, convents, and burying-grounds were marked, and all injury to ecclesiastics, women, or peasants was forbidden. A sort of police was established by the clergy to enforce these rules, which were proclaimed everywhere but in the county of Paris, where Henry chose to think them an interference with his rights. Of course the truce was often broken; but it did something towards lessening the atrocities which the law had no power to prevent. At the same time there was growing up among the warriors a belief in a certain standard of honour in warfare, which came to be known as *chivalry*. This in the course of the next three centuries came to bind the knight by a code of rules of courtesy and honour towards all of his own degree, but unfortunately took no heed to those outside it, so that a man might call himself a true knight and yet be a brutal ruffian towards burghers and peasants. A feudal army was made up of counts, barons, and their sons, who, if without inheritance, swelled the train of some noble, and there was also a certain number of men-at-arms, consisting of the stronger men of the baron's villeinage and the warlike of the burgher class.

8. *Minority of William the Conqueror, 1035.*—In 1035 the Norman duke *Robert* set off on a pilgrimage, after causing his barons to do homage to his son *William*, the child of a woman of low station, who could have been set aside for a bride of higher rank. Dying at Nicæa, Robert left the boy at eight years old beset with danger from every kinsman who could lay claim to his duchy, till his whole character was welded into a wonderful compound of daring, shrewdness, and resolution. The old friendship between Normandy and France had died out; the French hated the Normans, and the French kings began to remember that the Norman settlement had cut them off from the sea. The undefended state of Normandy tempted King Henry to play the part of Lewis IV. by Richard the Fearless, but he could only waste the country of *Hiesmes*, and take possession of the castle of Tillières. The loyal Normans were too strong for him, so that he knighted the young duke and received his homage; and when, in 1047, *Neal, Viscount of the Côtentin*, revolted, Henry joined his forces with those of

William, and together with him gained a great victory at *Val-ès-Dunes* near *Caen*, which fully established the power of the Duke. William married soon after Henry's niece *Matilda*, daughter of *Baldwin, Count of Flanders*, and the king of France was recommended by the Pope to take for his wife *Anne*, daughter of *Iaroslaf*, the reigning Grand Prince of *Russia*.

9. War with Anjou, 1051.—Henry called William to his aid against *Geoffrey Martel, Count of Anjou*. This family had risen into power about the same time as did the counts of Paris and produced many able men, but with a wild strain of fierceness about them which caused them to be much hated and feared. Henry took alarm at Geoffrey's victories over *William, Duke of Aquitaine* and the sons of *Odo, Count of Chartres*, and with William's assistance defeated him several times. When Geoffrey became guardian of young *Herbert, Count of Maine*, called *Eveille-Chien*, or Wake-the-Dogs, a frontier war began which ended in Geoffrey's defeat upon the *Sarthe*, and *Domfront* and *Alençon* being taken by William. Henry, alarmed at his power, aided *William, Count of Arques*, an illegitimate uncle of Duke William, in a rebellion, but was again defeated, and finally, when in alliance with Geoffrey Martel, was routed at *Varaville* in 1058, after which peace was made. The king was in failing health, and wanted to secure the support of his vassals for his son *Philip*, who in 1059 was crowned at seven years old, the feudatories of the whole kingdom and the people of the county of Paris consenting in the cry, "We will it ; we promise it ; so be it." Henry had one other son *Hugh*, who afterwards became *Count of Vermandois* by marriage with the heiress.

10. Philip I., 1060.—Philip I. succeeded his father only a few months after his coronation, and was still a child when, in 1066, his great vassal, William of Normandy, gained the throne of England. The rivalry between France and Normandy henceforth grew into a rivalry between France and England. Philip chiefly showed the feeling by idle, offensive, words, and William was never willing to make open war against his feudal chief ; but at last William, stung by Philip's jests, entered France, and burned *Mantes*, where the accident happened to which the great Conqueror owed his death in 1087.

11. Bertrade de Montfort, 1092.—Philip had no more ability than his three predecessors, and none of their piety.

He had been many years married to *Bertha of Holland*, and had four children, when he saw *Bertrade de Montfort*, whose beauty was such that *Fulk*, called *le Rechin*, Count of *Anjou*, had put away his wife to marry her, four years before. The king fell so madly in love with her that he declared his wedlock and hers both void, and by bribery obtained the performance of the rite of marriage. *Pope Urban II.* after admonition, excommunicated the guilty pair. At first Philip mocked at his censure, but then pretended to submit, though without really dismissing *Bertrade*, and for the chief part of fifteen years he was under sentence of excommunication. To prevent the loss of the throne, he caused his son *Lewis*, called *l'Eveillé*, or the Alert, to be crowned. *Bertrade* became so jealous of her stepson as to attempt his death; and only after much strife he received the county of the *Vexin* as the price of his toleration of her. She even contrived to reconcile her two husbands, who met at *Angers* on the most friendly terms, when she managed to stir up a quarrel between the Count of *Anjou* and the son of his first marriage. The youth rebelled, was killed in battle, and her son *Fulk* became heir.

12. The First Crusade, 1095.—In the meantime *Pope Urban II.* had visited *Auvergne*, and, together with *Peter the Hermit*, had preached the First Crusade at the Council of *Clermont*, where was enacted the canon that “he who from devotion alone, and not from desire of wealth or gain, shall consecrate himself to restore the Church of God at Jerusalem, may reckon his pilgrimage in the stead of all penance.” This was the text of the preaching which sent thousands to take the Cross and win back the spots dear to all Christians. The chief of the vassals of the French crown who engaged in the First Crusade were *Hugh*, Count of *Vernandois*, *Robert*, Duke of *Normandy*, son of *William the Conqueror*, and *Raymond*, Count of *Toulouse*, who obtained the city of *Tripoli* as a feudal tenure under the first king of Jerusalem, *Godfrey of Bouillon*, Duke of *Lorraine*. The establishment of this kingdom and the need of guarding it by reinforcements from Europe had in the end a great effect on the French, who were so much the largest element in the crusading armies that the Eastern name for European is still *Frank*, and the dialect of the crusading camp was called *lingua franca*. The staple of the permanent defenders of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem were however two religious orders, who

added to their monastic vows one of fighting against the Infidel. The Knights of St. John the Almoner, or Hospitallers, likewise undertook to lodge pilgrims, and tend their sick; the Knights Templars were guardians of the Temple. Both required noble birth, and were the resource of younger sons throughout France, where they soon had numerous houses for the receiving and training of novices.

13. **Death of Philip I., 1108.**—In his latter years, Philip, fat, sickly, and helpless, was fully reconciled to the Church, and professed such penitence that he would not be buried at St. Denys, but in an obscure Benedictine convent. In the robe of that order he died in 1108.

CHAPTER III.

GROWING IMPORTANCE OF THE KINGS.

1. **Suger—1108.**—Lewis VI., known as the *Fat*, was the ablest man that his line had produced since Hugh the White. He had as his minister and adviser, *Suger*, Abbot of St. Denys, a far-sighted man, who did his best to give weight to the kingly power, and to whom we owe the history of Lewis's life. Now for the first time there was some real attempt to restrain the violence of the feudal nobles. The domains where alone the king had any real power, and whence came his revenues, were the five cities of Paris, Orleans, Etampes, Melun, and Compiègne. All the land between was held by barons in their castles, who were generally at war with the king or with each other, and preyed on all merchants and travellers. *Hugh, Lord of Puiset*, was one of the worst, constantly plundering the vassals of his neighbours. The monks of St. Denys, and the *Countess of Blois, Adela*, mother and guardian of the young *Count Theobald*, and daughter of William the Conqueror, complained to the king, who summoned a parliament at Melun. Hosts of clergy and laymen came to lodge complaints of Hugh of Puiset's ravages, but he himself disdained to appear. The king attacked his castle with an army, not only of nobles, but of whole parishes led by their priests, one of whom was the first to break through the defence. Hugh shut

himself up in the keep, till he was forced by hunger to surrender, when he promised to amend his ways, and was released. Then he repaired his castle, allied himself with *Theobald of Blois*, who had quarrelled with the king for not making this very castle over to him, began his robberies again, and besieged the little town of Touri. Lewis, who was absent in Flanders, hurried home, and after a sharp war of varying success, at last made the Count of Blois prisoner, and overthrew the robber castle of Puiset. This was the first instance of baronial violence being repressed by a legal sentence; and other acts of justice ensued, which showed that the nobles' time of impunity was drawing to a close.

2: **The Communes, 1114.**—Another change was working in the cities. Many of the towns in Southern Gaul had kept some trace of their old municipal rights handed down from Roman times. But in France itself, and generally in the north, very few, if any, enjoyed any freedom or self-government. All had become the fiefs of some count, baron, or bishop, some of two or three at once, and their lords were constantly calling on them for dues, on a death, on marrying a daughter, or knighting a son, joining the army, &c. Indeed they were squeezed and misused without any such reasonable cause whenever it pleased the noble or his followers. At last, when the exactions had become intolerable, some revolted, the inhabitants taking an oath to each other to maintain their freedom and defend one another. Le Mans had done this under Philip I., and had become a free commonwealth, and though it was overcome and forced to surrender to William of Normandy, it remained a privileged municipality. In other places, when the lord was in distress for money, the townsmen who were prospering in trade banded together to buy from their lord freedom and right of self-government, as a *commune*. The needs of crusading nobles made them willing to sell these charters of freedom, but it sometimes became convenient to forget the transaction, and resume the old claim. Then followed struggles and appeals to the king; and Lewis had no fixed principles of dealing with them. He would allow no fresh communes that he could help in his own lands; elsewhere he cared more for weakening his enemies than strengthening the burghers. Thus when Laon had obtained a grant, he withdrew it on the offer of 700 pounds of silver from the bishop and the nobles. He marched to Laon;

the commune was destroyed, and the townspeople afterwards taxed to pay the expenses of their own ruin. A great insurrection was the consequence, in which the bishop was murdered, and in the uproar the peasants broke in upon the city, doing such damage that the burghers called in the aid of *Thomas of Marne*, heir of *Coucy*. This house of *Coucy* was one of the proudest of the old nobles. Their castle was a wonder of massive strength and ingenuity, and they hardly owned any superior. According to their favourite saying :

Ne suis roy ni comte aussi,
Je suis le Sire de Coucy.

This *Thomas*, having no fear of king or priest, was the chosen protector of the men of *Laon*, although at *Amiens*, of which his father, *Enguerrand de Coucy*, was count, he was playing a contrary part. The burghers of that city had, with the consent of their bishop, obtained a charter from the king, and formed a commune, whereupon the father and son made war on them, and on all who travelled to and fro. *Thomas* was in effect a regular freebooter, seizing all who fell in his way, and torturing them in his dungeons till he could obtain a ransom ; but at length the king besieged him in his castle of *Crecy* in *Picardy*, and sufficiently broke his strength to force him to restrain his ferocities : and then began the first steps towards raising the burghers and taming the nobles.

3. *Abailard* and *St. Bernard*, 1120—1136.—Paris already was the seat of a highly-esteemed university, where the course of sciences was taught by doctors and masters to scholars assembled from every country round, who lived a strange wild life, between study, beggary, and robbery. Here studied and taught the Breton *Peter Abailard*, who plunged deep into the mysteries of philosophy and theology, until, at a synod held at *Soissons* in 1120, his theology was condemned and his writings burned. He submitted for a while, but after some years he returned to Paris, and put forth the same opinions. A synod was convoked at *Sens*, at which the chief of the opposite side was *St. Bernard*, the most remarkable man of his time. Son of a noble family in *Burgundy*, his longing for holiness had led him to retire to the monastery of *Citeaux*, the head of the *Cistercian* order, and his example had brought thither his six brothers and his aged father. Being sent to found the abbey of *Clairvaux*, an offshoot of *Citeaux*, he there became the leading spirit of the

French Church. He was a great and powerful preacher, and such a writer that he is called the last father of the Church, while he had a wonderful power of swaying the minds of men. These two great men, the champions of the rationalistic and of the traditional views of Christianity, were to hold a debate at Sens in 1136; but Abailard, though he had refused in private to recant, declined the contest, and appealed to Rome. However his friend, *Peter the Venerable, Abbot of Cluny*, persuaded him to submit and be reconciled to the Church, so that he ended his days in peace.

4. Wars with England, 1119—1128.—Lewis took the part of Robert of Normandy, and afterwards of his son *William* against Henry I. of England, and there was a long warfare between the two kings. In short, the wars between France and England had begun. The two armies met suddenly near Noyon, each with about 500 knights, on the 20th of August, 1119, and had a battle, in which the French were worsted, and 140 prisoners were made, but only three or four knights killed on either side. It was just after this that Henry lost his only son in the White Ship, and *Pope Calixtus II.* made peace between the kings; but after three years, Henry's only surviving child, Matilda, was married to the Emperor *Henry V.*, and the two Henrys allied themselves against France. But troubles in Germany, and the illness and death of Henry V. in 1125, put an end to the danger. Henry I. then gave his daughter to *Geoffrey Plantagenet*, son of Fulk, Count of Anjou. A year later Fulk went on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, married the heiress of the Latin kingdom there, and resigned his French county to his son. The strong front which Henry I. thus presented, with Anjou in alliance, Brittany as his fief, and Blois owned by his nephew, made Lewis willing to keep the peace towards him in their latter years.

5. Family of Lewis IV., 1131—1137.—Lewis VI. had been heart-broken at the death of his eldest son *Philip*, who was killed in 1131 by the ignoble accident of a pig running between his horse's legs in the unclean streets of Paris. The second son, named *Lewis*, and called the *Young*, was newly married to *Eleanor*, daughter and heiress of *William*, last *Duke of Aquitaine* (who had died on pilgrimage to the shrine of St. James of Compostella, in Spain), when Lewis VI. sank under his infirmities in the year 1137, having been the first king of his line who had really striven to reign.

6. Lewis VII. and Eleanor, 1137.—Now for a moiment, France and Aquitaine, the lands of the northern and the southern forms of the Romance of Gaul, had a single sovereign. But it was only for a moment. Never had there been a worse matched couple than Lewis VII. and his queen since Robert and Constance. The North and South were entirely alien to one another. The South was thought by the North frivolous and licentious, the North seemed to the South barbarous and ferocious. The old learning and softness of manner of the Latin provinces had fallen into corruption, and did not hinder horrid cruelties and immoralities; but these were dressed up in false gilding. The revival of religion which had given an earnestness and devotion to the rudeness of Northern France had not reached Aquitaine, and a court under the influence of St. Bernard was in itself alien to Eleanor, who was by nature imperious and pleasure-loving, and came of a family who had never brooked restraint in any inclination. Lewis, on the contrary, was gentle and meek, devout and grave, personally brave, though lacking moral courage, and conscientious, but without much ability, and so simple that the term Lewis the Young, first used when his father was alive, clung to him through life. Suger still directed his affairs, and Suger had listened to St. Bernard and pruned away all worldly pomp from himself and his monastery.

7. War with the Count of Chartres, 1141.—Toulouse was held to be a fief of Aquitaine, but homage was refused by its count *Alfonso*, and when Lewis summoned his vassals to reduce him, the example of disobedience was set by *Theobald of Blois*, Count of Champagne and Chartres, and brother to the English King *Stephen*. Lewis fell on his lands and so destroyed the town of *Vitry*, that it is called still *Vitry Brûlé*, or the burned; but in the midst were heard the cries of 1,300 wretches in the principal church, whom it was too late to save from the flames. He had also become involved in the great question of lay investitures, and, in spite of St. Bernard's mediation, was for three years excommunicated for not admitting the pope's nominee to the archbishopric of *Bourges*. He was absolved by *Celestine II.* in 1149.

8. The Parliament of Vezelai, 1145.—The king's conscience was thus uneasy when tidings came of the urgent needs of the crusading kingdom in Palestine. Fulk of Anjou was dead, and his wife *Melicent* was guardian of the king-

dom for her son, Baldwin 111. The outpost of the realm, *Edessa*, had been taken by the Sultan of Aleppo, and fresh aid from the West could alone save the other sacred places. New ardour awakened, Lewis saw a means of appeasing his remorse for the deaths at Vitry, and Eleanor hoped to relieve the dulness of her court. The nobles and clergy were convoked at *Vezelai*, where Bernard so preached that the place rang with shouts of "The cross ! the cross !" and it was assumed by hosts of knights. Bernard then passed on to Speyer, where he kindled a like zeal in the German king, *Conrad of Swabia*. He was entreated to lead the crusade, but he was far too wise, saying that the temporal sword was given to the laity. While waiting to embark, the crusaders wanted to have a foretaste of their expected achievements in Palestine by plundering and murdering the Jews ; but this wickedness was cut short by Bernard.

9. The Second Crusade, 1147.—All was ready by the summer of 1147. The French army assembled at *Metz*, and marched through Germany in the wake of Conrad. There were difficulties with the Eastern Emperor, and misfortunes began as soon as the Bosphoros was passed. The German force was routed, and only a very few remained with Conrad, and joined the French troops. Lewis wintered at Ephesus ; and, when in the spring he attempted to advance, he was beset in the wild ravines of Asia Minor, and barely escaped with the loss of all his baggage ; and when he at length arrived at Antioch by sea, he was wofully crippled in strength. He and Conrad laid siege to Damascus, but there were constant misunderstandings between the crusaders and the princes of the kingdom of Jerusalem, whose perfidy and vice disgusted their allies. Sickness and famine prevailed ; one crusader after another went home ; and though Lewis remained a year in Palestine, he had not troops enough for any undertaking, and spent his time in devotion at the different shrines, while his wife Eleanor was further corrupted by the vices of Eastern life. When at last he returned home, and landed at the mouth of the Rhone in 1149, he brought back with him only 300 men.

10. Preponderance of the House of Anjou, 1154.—Two years later died the wise Abbot Suger, and St. Bernard only survived him till 1153. A great power was now growing up north and west of France. On the death

of Henry the First, Duke of the Normans as well as King of the English, the duchy as well as the kingdom was disputed between his nephew *Stephen* of Blois, and his daughter the Empress *Matilda*, wife of Count *Geoffrey* of Anjou. Normandy was conquered by Geoffrey, and on Geoffrey's death in 1151, Henry, already Duke of the Normans, succeeded to his father's county of Anjou. Meanwhile the dislike between Lewis and Eleanor had come to such a pitch that he made no objection when in 1152 some plea of kindred was treated as a flaw in their wedlock, though, as she had only borne him two daughters, her vast inheritance in the South passed from him. She at once married Duke Henry, and thus Aquitaine was added to Normandy and Anjou, forming a power much greater than the kingdom. Soon after, in 1154, Henry, according to the treaty with King Stephen, succeeded him on the English throne. Though still in early youth, Henry from that time forward entirely overshadowed the crown of France with his power, while his keen, crafty, bold Angevin nature made him far more than a match for Lewis, ever the *Young*. He did indeed pay homage for his fiefs, but he took care to be the only master in them. He tightened his grasp on Brittany, and renewed that claim of Eleanor's to the homage of Toulouse which Lewis himself had been unable to enforce. But it was his policy to avoid open war with his feudal superior, and when Lewis came in person to the aid of the count, *Raymond Jordan*, he came to a treaty, and abandoned the attempt. He thought himself on the road to gaining all France for his family by easier means. Lewis' second wife, *Constance of Castile*, had only been the mother of two daughters, whose hands in their earliest childhood Henry obtained for his two eldest sons, *Henry* and *Richard*, while the third son, *Geoffrey*, was betrothed to *Constance*, the infant heiress of Brittany. Thus if female succession should be recognized in France, a point which had not yet been settled, the kingdom, as well as the duchy of Brittany, might pass to the House of Anjou. Part of these plans were overthrown in 1165 by the birth of an heir to France, called by Lewis in his joy *Philip the God-given*, but who is better known as *Philip Augustus*, probably from the month of his birth. His mother was Lewis' third wife, *Alice of Blois*, daughter of the great Count Theobald of Chartres and Champagne.

11. **Archbishop Thomas of Canterbury, 1170.**—Meanwhile Henry, in striving to subject the clergy to the temporal law, had met with determined resistance from *Archbishop Thomas* of Canterbury, who found a kind and earnest friend in Lewis, and spent the time of his exile in France. Indeed it was the zeal of Lewis in his cause that caused *Alexander III.*, the reigning pope, to declare Thomas his legate; and though Henry for a time had nearly talked Lewis over into forsaking his cause, when the two kings met in 1169, at Montmartre, no sooner was Henry gone than Lewis returned to his former support of Thomas, who remained in France till he went back to Canterbury just before his murder in 1172.

12. **Rebellion of Henry's Sons, 1173.**—Indignation made Lewis think he need keep no further terms with Henry II., whose three sons he received, when, with their mother, they fled to his court, demanding their duchies of Normandy, Aquitaine, and Brittany. They were in truth nothing better than headstrong lads, stirred up by their mother and by turbulent troubadour nobles of Aquitaine, who hated the firm hand of the Angevin, and never failed to abuse the head of the family and show violent affection to the next heir, whom they excited to rebellion with their fiery verses. As the young Henry had been already crowned, Lewis declared that he acknowledged no other king of England, and attacked *Verneuil*, the surrender of which had been promised for the third day, when *Henry II.* advanced with a hired army of free lances. Lewis, with ill-faith unusual to him, set fire to the town before his retreat, but was pursued and defeated by Henry, and throughout the war was beaten at all points, until a conference was held at *Gisors*, in which the kings were reconciled, and Lewis gave up the cause of the sons.

13. **Lewis VII. at the Tomb of Thomas of Canterbury, 1179.**—Young Philip Augustus, when hunting near Rheims, lost his way, and was nearly dead with cold and hunger, when he was found and brought home by a woodman. A dangerous illness followed, and in thankfulness for his recovery, Lewis vowed a pilgrimage to the shrine of his old friend Thomas at Canterbury. Henry met him at Dover, and his stay was marked by stately services and kingly gifts. He was only five days in England, and had hardly returned before he was struck with paralysis, and after lingering a few months, died on the 18th of September, 1180. He was a good man,

religious, upright, and honourable, except when he was led astray by unscrupulous men of greater force of character.

14. Philip II., 1180.—*Philip II.* had been crowned during his father's illness, and, though only fourteen years of age, he was already married to *Isabel of Hainault*, whose mother was heiress of Vermandois. He had watched enough of the dealings between his father and the Angevins to learn of his enemies, and when his mother and her uncles tried by force of arms to keep him in wardship, he gained the mastery by the help of the younger King Henry and an army of *Brabançons*. These Brabançons, or free lances, from Brabant, were the first hired soldiers. Younger sons, men-at-arms, and all who were landless and not in the train of some noble, had come to make warfare a trade, and hire themselves out to any prince in need of them. The old king Henry made much use of them as a means of curbing the feudal barons. Philip was not slow to learn the lesson, but the difficulty lay in paying them while the king depended on aids from his vassals, tolls from the citizens, and grants from the clergy, with no other resource save the Jews, who lent at heavy usury to all who came to them, but whom the king could plunder whenever he pleased, so that they served him as a sponge which could always be squeezed. The power of Philip was as much narrowed by his vassals as that of his father had been; "But," said he, "please God, I shall grow older and stronger, and they will grow older and weaker." And what his father had done from feeling he did from policy, keeping up the struggle between Henry II. and his sons out of seeming friendship for the youths. Young Henry died in the midst of a rebellion in 1183, and in 1186 Geoffrey perished before Philip's eyes at Paris in a tournament. These sham-fights had become common in the course of the century. The wife of Geoffrey, Constance, the heiress of Brittany, gave birth a few months later to a son, named *Arthur*, after the great hero of the British race, no doubt in hopes that he would bring back the Celtic line to England, and renew the glories of the Round Table.

15. The Third Crusade, 1190.—Meantime the crusading force in the East had decayed more and more, while the whole Mahometan strength was joined together under the noble *Salah-ed-deen*, or Saladin, as the crusaders called him, who defeated *Guy de Lusignan*, who was king

of Jerusalem in sight of his wife, *Sibyl of Anjou*, in the terrible battle of Tiberias and obliged the Holy City to surrender. The loss was a shock to Europe, where every sinner thought of pilgrimage as a last resource, and every Christian deemed it shame that the Holy Sepulchre should be in the hands of unbelievers. Pope *Urban III.* died of grief at the tidings, and among those who at once took the Cross were Philip Augustus, Henry II., and his son *Richard*. First however disputes had to be settled. Richard had been all his life betrothed to *Alice*, the sister of Philip, who had for many years been in his father's keeping without being given to him, and he insisted on being either married or set free. Philip took part with him, as did his brother *John*, and it was this rebellion that at last broke the heart of Henry II. His death, in 1189, made some delay; but in 1190 the crusaders set forth, Richard in a fleet of his own, Philip in hired Genoese vessels, fixing the island of Sicily as the place of meeting. Such strict rules were drawn up against bad language, gambling, and quarrelling, that, if they had been observed, the Third Crusade would have been a model one. Philip's queen died just before he set out, and his mother, Alice of Blois, was left to govern the kingdom. The two kings wintered at *Messina*, where Philip was bought over to cancel his sister's betrothal to Richard, though he would not witness the arrival of *Berengaria of Navarre*, Richard's bride. He sailed for Palestine in the spring of 1191, and at once joined in the siege of *Ptolemais*, or *St. John of Acre*, which had been going on for about a year; but no great exploit was performed until the arrival of Richard. His splendid bravery made an impression for which Philip seems to have been unprepared, and he was seized with a spirit of envy which he no longer kept in check. Levantine fever attacked both kings, and though Richard struggled to exert his mighty strength in its intervals, he never again quite shook off the disease. Philip was at once disabled. He was ill when Acre was taken, and after taking part in a council on the succession to the crown of Jerusalem, he held himself to have fulfilled his vow, and sailed homewards in 1192. Any liking he may have had for Richard when making common cause against Henry had now been turned into ill-will. On his way back he went to Rome, to accuse his enemy to *Pope Celestine III.*, but he was not listened to, and was laid under a strict charge to do no injury to the

absent crusader. This did not prevent him from entering into an alliance with Richard's brother John, and feeding the discontent of his subjects in Aquitaine. Very welcome were the tidings that Richard, on his way home, had been taken prisoner by *Leopold, Duke of Austria*. Nor was the opportunity wasted, for Philip took up arms against Normandy, exchanged various promises with John, and offered the emperor *Henry VI.*, into whose hands the king had passed, sums equal to his ransom so long as he was in safe keeping. Not till the February of 1194 did the release of Richard take place, and Philip, on learning it, wrote to John, "Take care of thyself, the devil is let loose."

16. Wars with Richard, 1194.—A border warfare between the two kings took place, chiefly in sieges of castles and skirmishes, but both kingdoms were worn out by the crusade, and nothing great was done. Only, high over the banks of the Seine, Richard lavished all his skill in defensive fortification in building an almost impregnable castle, which he called *Château Gaillard* (Saucy Castle), and viewed as the great bulwark of Normandy. But in 1199 Philip was freed from his most dangerous foe by Richard's death before the castle of *Chaluz*, and thenceforth was the gainer by all that befell the house of Anjou.

17. The Interdict, 1199.—Philip had however brought on himself by his vices a great embarrassment. In 1191, hoping to weaken England by an alliance with Denmark, he had asked the hand of *Ingebiorg*, daughter of *Waldemar the Great*. But he took a great distaste to her, and on the plea of alleged nearness of kin, he made his clergy declare the marriage void, made light of the wrath of Pope Celestine III., and wedded *Agnes of Meran*, a little duchy in the Tyrolese Alps. But in 1198 *Innocent the Third* was chosen to the papacy, and showed himself one of the greatest men who ever sat in the chair of St. Peter, and one who made the most mighty use of the spiritual and temporal weapons of his see. After all admonition failed with Philip, Innocent laid the kingdom under an interdict. Every parish church was closed, most religious offices were forbidden, and the only exceptions were for crusaders and monasteries. The dread and distress which were thus caused to a people, who, though fierce and licentious, still firmly believed in the power of religion, forced the king to yield, and he was freed from

the interdict in 1200. Agnes died immediately after her dismissal, and Ingebiorg was taken back, but was treated more like a prisoner than a queen.

18. *Arthur of Brittany, 1202.*—On the death of Richard, the only surviving legitimate male descendants of Henry the Second were Richard's brother John and his nephew Arthur, Duke of Brittany, the son of Geoffrey, now fourteen years old. The question which of the two had the better hereditary right did not concern England, where the crown went by election; but it did concern the fiefs which were held of the French crown. It was still uncertain whether the doctrine of *representation* should be allowed, that is whether, in such a case, the son of the elder brother should succeed as standing in the place of his father, or whether the younger brother should succeed as nearer of kin than his nephew. Richard had at one time declared Arthur his heir, but his last declaration is said to have been in favour of John. In England and Normandy Arthur had no partisans: John received both duchy and kingdom without opposition. But in the other continental lands, as in Anjou, Maine, and Poitou, Arthur had many partisans, whom it was manifestly King Philip's policy to support. He acknowledged him as successor of Richard in all lands held of the French crown. But John bought off Philip by giving up the county of *Evreux*, and betrothing his eldest sister's daughter, *Blanche of Castile*, to Philip's eldest son, *Lewis the Lion*. Philip gave up all claims of Arthur to the Angevin succession, and only kept him at his court as Duke of Brittany, knowing John well enough to be sure that there would soon be fresh cause of war. So there was, when, in 1202, John carried off and married *Isabel of Angoulême*, the betrothed wife of *Hugh de Lusignan, Count of La Marche*, one of the chief nobles of Poitou. Hugh took up arms, and appealed to Philip, who, after a summons to John, which was not heeded, knighted young Arthur, and sent him off to join Hugh and the Poitevin barons. They laid siege to the castle of *Mirabeau*, the abode of Arthur's grandmother, Queen Eleanor, hoping that, if she were in their hands, they might gain much from her son, but she held out till John came to her relief, and made all the besiegers prisoners. Arthur was taken first to Falaise, and thence to Rouen, whence he never came forth alive.

19. *First French Conquest of Normandy.*—A great outcry was raised that the youth had been murdered,

and as John never produced him, it was probably true. His only full sister, Eleanor, called the Pearl of Brittany, was kept a prisoner in England for her whole life, but his mother, *Constance*, had married *Guy de Thouars*, a Poitevin, and her child *Alice* was to carry on the succession. The Bretons loudly called on Philip to revenge their duke's death, and he was willing enough to gratify them. The Poitevins joined him, and marched into Normandy and took castle after castle, though each was held out to the last, while no help came from England. John could neither get his barons to fight nor to give him money to pay Brabançons, so he never stirred while Château Gaillard was taken for want of provisions, and Rouen, after a six months siege. The ease with which Normandy was conquered is very wonderful; most likely the Normans looked on John and Philip as equally strangers, and thought that Philip promised the better of the two. Anyhow the great Norman land which had been so long before cut off from the French duchy was now joined again to the French kingdom, and France gained the mouth of Seine and the Northern sea-coast from which it had been so long cut off. The islands alone clave to their Duke. When the conquest was made, Philip set about to justify it, and called a court of peers, namely the great crown vassals, before which he cited John to appear to answer for his nephew's death. John did not refuse to come, provided he had a safe conduct, to which the answer was that he should come in safety, but that he might only go as the sentence of his peers might decide. On this he refused to come, and he was therefore adjudged to be contumacious, and to have legally forfeited Normandy and Anjou; but Aquitaine, being Queen Eleanor's, was untouched, excepting that Poitou had revolted and gone over to Philip. This was an immense step in the power of the French crown. Such a court of justice had never been held before, and though it could not have been brought together but for the general indignation against King John, it much enhanced respect for royal authority. The notion of the peers of France, twelve great vassals of the crown, six bishops and six temporal princes, dates from this time. The idea came out of the romances of *Charlemagne*, the French form of the name of the Emperor Charles the Great (*Karolus Magnus*). The ambiguity of the name *Rex Francorum* which the French kings kept, but which the German kings, now that they had become

Emperors, had dropped, enabled the French gradually to claim the great German king and emperor as belonging to themselves. And a crowd of stories told of him and his twelve *paladins* or *peers*, who were supposed to have led his armies. Out of these romances King Philip at once called to life the peers of France, who tried the Duke of Normandy. Philip had found out that the only way to keep a vassal in check was to unite the rest against him, and he held regular assemblies, called *cours pleinières*, which kept up the sense of being one body bound to keep order.

20. War of Flanders.—The great feudal princes now began to take alarm. When Innocent III. found John regardless of the interdict on England, he made Philip champion of the Church, and offered him the kingdom of England. When the French vassals were summoned to invade England, there was a flat refusal from *Ferdinand of Portugal, Count of Flanders* in right of his wife. Philip swore that Flanders should become France, and as John had submitted to the Pope, he turned his arms on Flanders, claiming it as the right of his son Lewis, through Isabel of Hainault. This raised a great coalition against him of all the feudal chiefs of the Low Countries, together with King John and his nephew the Emperor *Otto of Brunswick*, each with a different quarrel, but all really in dread of the growing power of the French crown. Philip had, besides his own direct vassals, the burghers trained to arms from the cities which had communes, and which knew that the feudal chiefs only longed to grind them down, so that they made common cause with the king. John had landed at *Rochelle*, and though joined by the Angevins, was defeated by Lewis; but the tug of war was in Flanders, when, in 1214, the two armies met on the bridge of *Bouvines*, and there was a hotly-contested battle, in which the emperor and the French king took their full share of danger. Philip was once borne down, but was aided and remounted, and Otto was almost in the hands of the French knights, when his horse, being wounded, grew unmanageable, and ran away with him out of the battle. The Counts of Boulogne and Flanders were taken prisoners, and their whole force broken, except 700 Brabançons, who stood like a wall and were all killed. Bouvines was the first great French victory, a victory won by men of the Romance speech over a Teutonic alliance of English, Flemings, and Germans. It was also the first of the

many battles on the one frontier where Gaul is unguarded by nature.

21. Lewis the Lion in England, 1215. — A year later King John's intolerable tyranny drove the English barons to wring the Great Charter from him. He then called in the aid of Brabançon mercenaries against them. The barons then offered the crown to Lewis, who was called the Lion, as the husband of John's niece, Blanche of Castile, and put him in possession of the Tower of London. In 1216 John's death changed the national feelings, and Englishmen turned to his young son *Henry III.* They now looked on Lewis as a foreign enemy, of whom they must rid themselves as soon as possible. Lewis' army was defeated at the *Fair of Lincoln* in 1217, and the reinforcements on their way to him destroyed in mid channel by *Hubert de Burgh*. He was forced to come to terms with Henry III., not having gained England, but having carried out all Philip's lifelong designs for humbling the House of Anjou. At the beginning of Philip's reign Henry II. held two-thirds of the lands which were fiefs of the crown of France. At the end of it all save the duchy of Aquitaine and the Norman islands had passed from Henry III.

CHAPTER IV.

EXTENSION OF THE KING'S POWER IN THE SOUTH.

1. The Albigenses, 1200.—While Philip was engaged in the struggle with the House of Anjou, another war was going on to the southward. All the country which spoke the *Langue d'oc*, or Provençal tongue, including the fiefs of the French crown between the Loire and the Rhone, had little in common with the North. The original natives had been largely Iberians, not Gauls; the Roman settlement had been much fuller and more lasting than in the north; the Teutonic conquerors had been Goths, not Franks, their religion Arian, not Catholic. And though they had since been reconciled to the Church, there was still a bias towards freedom of thought. The Persian belief in dual deities for good and evil had several times broken out in the early Church under the name of

the Manichæan and Paulician heresies, and had spread in the lands lying north of the Eastern Empire. Some Paulicians, when driven from the East, had found a refuge in the Pyrenees, where their creed smouldered till the general activity of mind in the twelfth century brought it forward. Those who held it were commonly called *Albigenses*, from the city of *Alb*, and seem to have held very mischievous and wild doctrines. Their "perfect ones" tortured their bodies like Hindoo fakeers, but the general mass of the people were utterly licentious, despising marriage, and setting the moral law at naught. Meanwhile they abused the Catholic clergy and system in terms that have led some to think them of the same opinions as Protestants, whereas they had nothing in common with them but hatred to Rome. The whole country was in a corrupt state, and the clergy had fallen into vicious habits, which the *Albigenses* were not slow to hold up to scorn and mockery. *Raymond, Count of Toulouse*, was a bold, high-spirited, clever man, free-thinking and loose in morals, with a strong contempt for the clergy and impatient of their claims. Without professing the *Albigensian* doctrine, he did not withdraw his favour from such as did so, and it spread throughout his county and that of *Provence*. Missions of *Cistercian* monks were sent by *Innocent III.* to preach the faith, but in vain; and *Peter of Castelnau*, one of these monks was, after rebuking the Count of Toulouse, murdered by some of his followers in a wood in 1207.

2. The Crusade against the *Albigenses*, 1208. — *Innocent III.* in great wrath declared *Raymond* and his subjects foes to the faith, and in 1208 proclaimed a war against them as a crusade, equally meritorious with fighting in the Holy Land. There was no lack of willing crusaders, though *Philip* declared that he had enough on his hands with watching *King John* and the Emperor *Otto*. The leader was *Simon, Count of Montfort*, in France, a devout, ambitious, and merciless warrior who claimed also the earldom of *Leicester* in England. On his approach *Raymond* quailed, and as the price of pardon, yielded seven of his best castles, was scourged by the legate at the door of the church of *St. Giles*, and took the Cross to fight against his own people. His nephew, *Raymond Roger, Viscount of Béziers*, would not brook such submission nor give up the heretics in his city, which was besieged in 1209. He was not within the

place, and the townsmen defied the crusaders by throwing the gospels over the walls, crying, "There is your law. We heed it not. Keep it to yourselves." They made a sally in full strength, but the crusaders drove them back, rushed into the town with them, and made a most ruthless slaughter. It is said that, when Simon de Montfort asked *Abbot Arnold Amaury* how to discern between Catholic and heretic, the answer was, "Kill all alike, God will know his own." The viscount was at *Carcassonne*, whence he sent to his other uncle, *Peter I., King of Aragon* for aid, and was advised by him to go in person to the camp to explain that he was no heretic. There however *Abbot Amaury* insisted on making him prisoner as a means of forcing the surrender of *Carcassonne*, and his captivity was continued till his death, while his lands were given to Simon de Montfort. The other crusaders returned home, but Simon remained to carry on a pitiless persecution of the surviving heretics, calling upon the Count of Toulouse to perform his promise of rooting out heresy in his lands. This Raymond was as little able as willing to do, and the war began again in 1210, the crusaders making havoc of the whole county, while Raymond shut himself up in Toulouse with all who had escaped. Simon now began to deal with the land as his own conquest, with the clear object of founding a principality for himself. He held a parliament and divided the confiscated lands among his barons, thus interfering with the rights of Peter of Aragon, who held *Roussillon* and other fiefs in Southern Gaul. Peter appealed to the Pope, but obtaining no redress, took up arms and crossed the Pyrenees in September, 1213. The Southern barons joined him to a man; the French from the North flocked to Simon's standard. Peter was overthrown with complete defeat by Simon's army at *Muret*, and was himself among the slain. The remaining cities opened their gates, and the conquest seemed complete. Simon was declared prince of the conquered lands by the synod of clergy at Montpellier.

3. The Lateran Council, 1215.—In 1215 Innocent III. held the Council of the Lateran, when Dominic Guzman was authorised to form his order of friars, called the *Dominicans*, for preaching and contending with false doctrine. Into their hands was put the newly-invented means of dealing with heresy, called the Inquisition, by which search was made into alleged heretical opinions, and those whom the spiritual power condemned were handed

over to the secular power for punishment. At this council the fate of Toulouse was debated. Raymond and his son were present, and were kindly received by the Pope, who was much shocked at their account of the barbarities committed in their county. It was decided that Simon should keep the fiefs of the French crown he had won on the right bank of the Rhone, and that those on the left bank, which belonged to the Empire, should be left in the hands of the Church to be restored to the son of the despoiled count, if he showed himself worthy.

4. *Death of Simon de Montfort, 1218.*—When Raymond of Toulouse and his son landed at Marseilles, they found that great city warm in their cause, and no sooner did they raise their standard than all the remains of the Albigenes, and all the Catholics of the South joined them. The war began again; a new crusade was preached, and Toulouse, which had expelled its garrison, was besieged by Montfort himself in 1218. While hearing mass, he was told that the besieged were setting fire to his chief machine. He rose from his knees, saying, "Lord, now lettest Thou Thy servant depart in peace," and a few minutes later was killed by a stone from a mangonel. His dominion died with him. His younger son of his own name was afterwards famous both in England and in Gascony. His elder son, *Amalric*, had married the daughter of the *Count of Viennois*, a prince of the Empire just beyond the Rhone, who bore the title of *Dauphin* or *Dolphin*. He found himself unable to cope with the Southern nobles, though the king's eldest son Lewis the Lion, on returning from England, came to head the crusade. Amalric, finding he could not keep either Beziêrs or Nîmes, offered them to the king, but wary Philip would not plunge into such a war, refused them, let Raymond's son succeed him peaceably in 1222, and permitted the Albigenes to live in peace.

5. *Death of Philip II., 1223.*—The papal legate in vain summoned a synod at Sens to force Philip to seize Toulouse. The king was already wasting in low fever, and died on the 14th of July, 1223. He had found France a kingdom of small strength, with a king in constant rivalry with vassals greater than their lord; he left it a powerful state, to which many great fiefs had been annexed, where the king had full weight, and where order was beginning to prevail.

6. *Lewis VIII., 1223.*—The reign of *Lewis VIII.* was

little more than a campaign against the Albigenses. To him Amalric de Montfort gave up all his claims in the south, and he hoped to stretch his sway from the Channel to the Pyrenees. In the weakness of the minority of Henry III. he won part of Poitou with the important haven of *Rochelle*, the "doorway" of the English into France. At *Bourges* a synod was held, in which the legate refused submission from the counts of Toulouse and *Foix*, excommunicated them, and proclaimed a fresh crusade, of which the king was leader. It set forth in 1226, and passed through the imperial lands on the left side of the Rhone. Here the free city of *Avignon* was governed by consuls, like the Italian towns. It had taken part with the Albigenses, and, for having seized and flayed alive the *Count of Orange*, it had been for twelve years under ban of the Church, and though a free passage was offered the crusaders, it was thought right to punish it. The siege lasted three months, and the army without was much harassed by the Count of Toulouse; and by the time the city was taken and nearly destroyed disease had taken a strong hold of the crusading army, and though they sat down before Toulouse, sickness forced one baron after another to go home, and among them the king himself. He only reached *Montpensier*, where he died in 1226, in his fortieth year.

7. The Leagues of Vassals, 1226.—*Lewis IX.*, the eldest of his four sons, was but eleven years old, but their mother, *Blanche of Castile*, was a woman of sense and spirit, for which the vassals were little prepared when they leagued together with Raymond of Toulouse to make a strong effort against the yoke that Philip Augustus had been laying on them, and to keep down the "Spanish woman's son." At its head was a great grandson of Lewis VI., *Peter of Dreux*, the regent who had married Constance's last child, *Alice*, and was called Mauclore, not from bad scholarship, but from hatred of the clergy. He was joined, among others, by the young *Theobald of Blois*, *Count of Champagne*, and the old *Hugh of Lusignan*, *Count of La Marche*, who had just married his old love, the widow of King John, and all marched on Orleans, where were the queen and her sons. She sent an appeal to Paris, and the burghers came out in force and escorted her safely to their city, while the barons dispersed, and only Peter of Dreux continued the war openly, though when she summoned the barons

against him, they only chose to obey literally, coming indeed, but with two men apiece. However Blanche made a great conquest by her stately beauty and high spirit; for Theobald of Champagne, a poet full of romance, was touched by the grandeur of the brave widow guarding her children, called her the lady of his thoughts, became her true knight in a distant and respectful way, and saved her from the Breton army. After three years petty warfare, a treaty was signed at *St. Aubin-sur-Carnier* in 1231, by which the barons engaged to keep the peace for three years.

8. End of the War with the Albigenses, 1229.—During the queen's distress, Raymond of Toulouse the younger, after the elder was dead, gained some successes, but in 1228 the cardinal legate, *Romano di St. Angelo*, devised the cruel expedient of devastating the country, not by mere random plunder, but rooting up vineyards, cutting down olive-trees, and making the land a desert. The unhappy people of Toulouse lost courage, and the Count came to Meaux ready to submit to any terms. Very hard they were. He kept Toulouse, which was to pass on his death to the king's brother Alfonso, who was to marry the count's daughter Joan. His other lands held of the French crown were at once surrendered, and France now reached to the Mediterranean. Instead of being shut up in the lands just round Paris, the kingdom now had an opening on three seas. Count Raymond was also to level all his castles, support doctors of theology in all his cities, and assist them in destroying heresy, and to pay 2,000 silver marks for the cost of the war. A remnant of the Albigenses still maintained a *guerrilla* warfare in the Pyrenees for some years; till they were altogether exterminated in 1244.

9. Disputes of Town and Gown at Paris, 1229.—Blanche of Castile was the ablest and best of the many queen-mothers of France. She had as firm a hand as her father-in-law, and kept down lawlessness by having a band of hired men-at-arms in her pay. In 1229 she had to interfere in one of the disputes between burghers and scholars that take place in all university towns, and were the more furious in the early middle ages because the scholars came from all parts, and lived and lodged as best they might, without college discipline, but often starving and begging, robbing or fighting for a meal. So outrageous had they become at Paris that Blanche sent her

men-at-arms to put them down, and turned a deaf ear to the complaints of the doctors, whereupon they left Paris. *Pope Gregory IX.* wrote an admonition to the young king, telling him that power, wisdom, and mercy were the earthly trinity, and that if wisdom were taken away the other two could not stand. The advice was accepted, and the university restored. Some years later *Henry de Sorbonne*, Lewis' confessor, founded a college where the young men might live under due regulation, and where theology was above all to be studied. This foundation acquired so much weight that in later times almost all questions of divinity were referred to the doctors of the Sorbonne. It was an age of great vigour and progress as well as of religious fervour. The queen was a devout woman, and the king grew up deeply pious, pure, and blameless, and with none of the weakness that had hitherto rendered the good men of his family such feeble rulers. Blanche married him to *Margaret*, one of the four daughters of *Raymond Berenger*, the last of the old line of Counts of Provence. Her three sisters married Henry III. of England, *Richard, Earl of Cornwall*, afterwards king of the Romans, and Lewis' brother, *Charles, Count of Anjou*, to whom the imperial fief of Provence was to pass on the death of Raymond Berenger. All four were in the end queens.

10. War with the Vassals, 1235.—No sooner was the truce over than Peter of Dreux was up in arms again; and so was Theobald of Champagne, apparently to try what was the mettle of the young king; for when Lewis showed a resolute face and conquered Peter, Theobald submitted. Soon after, falling heir through his mother to the little Pyrenean kingdom of Navarre, he sold to the king his cities of Blois, Chartres, and Sancerre. In 1241, when Lewis' brother *Alfonso* came of age, the county of *Poitou*, which had been taken from King John, was given to him; but old Hugh of Lusignan, who was now the husband of John's widow, refused homage, and defied him. Lewis came to the aid of his brother, Henry III. to that of his stepfather, hoping to recover Poitou, but in a sharp fight at *Taillebourg*, near Saintes, in July, 1242, Lewis was victorious, and Henry fled into Gascony. The unhealthy season put an end to the war; both kings fell ill, and were glad to sign a truce for five years.

11. The Vow of Crusade, 1244.—That Southern campaign had much injured Lewis' health, and in 1244 a

fever brought him to the point of death. In it he vowed to make a crusade to the Holy Land, where the Christian cause was in a more woful state than ever, owing to the quarrels between the popes and the Emperor *Frederick II.* The title of King of Jerusalem had descended to the Emperor by marriage, and he had actually won back Jerusalem for a while. But the Popes opposed him everywhere. *Gregory IX.* had vainly tried to stir up Lewis to head a crusade against him, and had in 1240 actually offered the imperial crown to Lewis' brother, *Robert, Count of Artois*; but the king, whose unselfishness made his views of duty singularly clear, would not be drawn into the quarrel, and refused the offer. The preparations for the crusade occupied three years, during which he was building that gem of early Pointed architecture, the *Sainte Chapelle* at Paris, the chapel of the King's palace, as a shrine for what were believed to be the instruments of the Passion, the sponge, the lance-head, and above all the crown of thorns, all sold to him in 1241 by the Latin Emperor *Baldwin* of Constantinople. Lewis, having made peace with all his neighbours, left the government to his mother, and took with him his wife, his brothers, a body of English under *William, Earl of Salisbury*, and a host of bishops and knights, among whom the most valuable to us was *John Lord of Joinville*, Lewis' friend and biographer, who places him before us in all his blameless glory as a "selfless man" full of courage and resolution.

12. The Seventh Crusade, 1248.—Saladin had had weak successors, and the kingdom had been broken up; but as part of Palestine was still united with Egypt under the Sultan *Nedjid Eddin*, it was thought that to attack *Cairo* was the way to win Jerusalem. Lewis left *Aigues Mortes*, a haven which he had lately founded on the Mediterranean, in August, 1248; but he was kept five months at Cyprus, the meeting place, before he was joined by numbers enough to make the attempt. Sailing at last for *Damietta*, he forced his way to land by great personal bravery, in June, 1249, in the teeth of the Memlooks. These were the chief warriors of Egypt, who were recruited from infant Circassian slaves, and had become a prætorian guard, as much the terror of their lord as of his foes. They did not however attempt to defend *Damietta*, and, had Lewis pushed on at once during their panic, he would probably have won *Cairo*. But he tarried another five months for his brother *Alfonso* with

reinforcements ; and when he went forward with 60,000 men he became entangled in the canals of the delta, and was a month going thirty miles. The great canal near *Mansourah* barred his passage, and fifty days were lost in trying in vain to make a causeway over it before a ford was found. The Earl of Salisbury advised that no attack should be made on the enemy by the first who should cross, till the others had come to their support. But the king's brother, *Robert, Count of Artois*, chose to think this cowardly, and the unhappy quarrel caused both earl and count to charge the Memlooks the instant they crossed, and to rush headlong after them into the narrow crooked lanes of *Mansourah*. Here the knights on their heavy horses were helpless, and all were cut off, though the king's own promptness and vigour saved the rest of the army, and dislodged the enemy from their camp. There however the causeway was afterwards attacked by the Memlooks, and they had to fight a second terrible battle. The victory was indeed theirs, but they were living in a swamp which bred deadly sickness, while swarms of the Memlooks and Arabs harassed them on all sides with discharges of the missile called Greek fire, which was blown from a reed, and set in a blaze whatever it touched. There was no choice but retreat, and boats were collected for the sick, among whom was Lewis himself, though he chose to ride in the rearguard, striving to guard the passage, and charging again and again on the swarming foes. The enemy cut down every straggler, seized all the boats, and at last, after desperate fighting captured the whole army with Lewis himself, who was found with exhausted strength lying helpless on the ground. He and his two brothers were put into chains, and all who would not deny their faith were either slaughtered or sold for slaves, unless the richness of their armour gave cause to hope for a ransom. The garrison at *Damietta* daily expected to be seized by the Memlooks, and Queen Margaret, who had just given birth to a son, made the old knight who guarded her swear that he would kill her rather than let her be taken by the Saracens. Happily for them, the sultan was just dead, and the power was in the hands of the Memlook emir, *Tourass Chah*, who only wanted to make a profit of his captives. At first he threatened death or torture to all unless they yielded all the Franks held in Palestine ; but when Lewis answered that they were not his, and that he

could only offer Damietta and a ransom of a million gold bezants, the terms were accepted. But just then Tourass Chah was slain by his own Memlooks, who came rushing into Lewis' tent, crying, "What will you give me? I have slain your enemy!" The king turned away his face in silence. All were in immediate expectation of being massacred, and were confessing to one another and preparing for death with a grave resolution that awed the Memlooks. In a day or two the late sultan's widow gained the ascendancy, and the former treaty was continued. The queen and her train were put on board ship, Damietta was surrendered, and Lewis was set free. Still, ill as he was, he fulfilled his pilgrimage to the Holy Land, where he stayed four years, and did all he could to enable the four cities of the coast, which alone remained to the Franks, to hold out till aid could come from home.

13. *Return of Lewis, 1254.*—His two brothers, Charles and Alfonso, had returned at once. Alfonso was now Count of Toulouse by the death of Raymond. Charles had become Count of Provence through his wife. Thus Provence, though still a fief of the Empire, was ruled by a French prince, the first step towards its union with France. His chief object in Provence was breaking down the independence of the old Roman cities, Marseilles and others. Their mother, Blanche, died in 1253, and the tidings brought Lewis home. He reigned with uprightness and beneficence that have hardly ever been equalled, and St. Lewis, sitting under the oak of Vincennes, doing justice alike to peer and peasant, and leading rather than driving, was a great example never quite forgotten.

14. *The Parliament of Paris, 1258.*—Law was still unsettled; Roman law prevailed in the municipalities and the south, and was studied in the universities; but the old Frank unwritten customs were supposed to bind the nobles, and each baron had the power of doing justice (or injustice) on his own estate. Disputes between themselves ought to have come before their own assembly in the royal court, but were usually settled by private war and harrying one another's peasants. Lewis had decreed that in his own immediate fiefs no aggrieved baron should attack the offender for forty days after the injury. In 1257 he followed this up by forbidding, throughout the kingdom, private wars, burning of crops, or hindering of the plough; all grievances

were to be brought to the court of Parliament, consisting of the king and the peers of the accused. But when these courts grew frequent, they were so hateful to the nobility, who were required to serve on them, and they had so little notion of justice, that Lewis devised the appointment of a few "royal bailiffs," namely, knights enough to make a quorum, who were to be assisted by men regularly trained in law and jurisprudence, with whom the decision would rest. This was the foundation of the *Parliament of Paris*, and is dated from 1258. Every immediate vassal of the king had a right to sit there, but in its working state it consisted only of lawyers, and of nobles enough to make its decisions legal. It came to be the court of appeal in questions of inheritance, and registered wills and royal edicts; but instead of being, like the English Parliament, a means by which nobles and burghers kept the king in check, the Parliament of Paris was the instrument of the king for controlling the nobles. The first serious case that came before it was in 1259, when *Enguerrand, Lord of Coucy*, hanged three young Flemish nobles and their tutor for killing rabbits in his woods; and though the king was at first disposed to hang him in return, he took the wiser course of trial by Parliament. Enguerrand appealed to wager of battle, and Lewis answered that this was not the way of justice; but so terrible was the name of the tyrant that the king had to exert all his authority to obtain from the judges a sentence, not of death, but of forfeiture of rights of the chase and of jurisdiction, a heavy fine, and three years' pilgrimage to the Holy Land. The barons were greatly incensed at such interference with their lawlessness, and only such a king as Lewis IX. could have carried out the measure and established the authority of Parliament. The lawyers there were always trying to enforce the Roman law, the nobles always struggling against it; and thenceforth there was constant enmity between the men of the gown and the men of the sword.

15. *Treaties with England and Aragon.*—Lewis tried to be as just towards his fellow kings as towards his people. Hitherto, while the kings of Aragon had held large fiefs in Southern Gaul, the French kings had kept up the nominal claim of the Western Kingdom to homage over the land on the other side of the Pyrenees, which had been the *Spanish March* of the Karlings. In 1258 Lewis gave up all claim to homage south of the Pyrenees,

and also over Roussillon, to the north of them, thus fixing the boundary of the French kingdom towards Aragon for a long while. James of Aragon, on the other hand, gave up his northern fiefs. Lewis also in 1259 gave back to Henry III. the lands of Périgord, the Limousin, Angoumois, and part of Saintonge, as belonging to the duchy of Aquitaine; while Henry gave up all claim to Normandy, Touraine, Maine, and Anjou, which had been formally forfeited by John. Almost the only mistaken judgment made by Lewis was when, in 1263, Henry and his barons appealed to him to judge between them, and decree whether the king were bound by the oaths extorted from him at the Parliament of Oxford. Lewis, misled by the state of his own kingdom, did not see that the barons were not the transgressors of the law, but its maintainers, and gave sentence that they had no right to constrain their sovereign, and that Henry was free of his oaths.

16. Lewis and the Church.—Pious as he was, Lewis never let the popes drive him into unjust acts, and he resisted their monstrous usurpations of money and patronage. The French clergy were exempt from dues to the crown, save by free gift, but the demands of Rome devoured the means of bishoprics and abbeys; and the issue of what was called a mandate enabled the popes to appoint their own nominees to benefices, so that the churches of France were being used to swell the incomes of the Italian attendants of the Court of Rome. In 1269, Lewis is said to have put forth what was called *the Pragmatic Sanction*, which hindered the popes from meddling with patronage, and prevented levies of money without consent of the king and clergy. It is doubtful whether the formal document is genuine; but it is certain that Lewis practically maintained the rights of the French Church and nation against the Popes. But he did all this without a quarrel with the Church, whose champion he was so much regarded that when the Pope professed to depose Manfred, king of Sicily, the son of the Emperor Frederick, the kingdom was offered to one of the French king's sons, as a fief of the Church. Lewis however had too much regard for the rights of the House of Hohenstaufen to accept it. It was then offered to his brother, Charles of Anjou, who, through his wife's county of Provence, was independent of him, and while appearing equally devout, was the very man to do those services to the

pope which Lewis' soul shrank from. Charles won the kingdom of Sicily, but afterwards lost the island at the famous Vespers. But he and his descendants, the Angevin dynasty, went on reigning in Naples, so that another land beside Provence had French rulers, and was brought under French influences.

17. **The Last Crusade, 1270.**—The heart of Lewis was meantime set on the Holy Land. He had never laid aside the Cross, and the ten years' truce having long expired, he held himself bound to go to the rescue of Acre and Tripoli, the only cities now left to the crusaders. In spite of the miseries of the late "Holy War," personal love for him led many to take the Cross. Among them his three sons, his two brothers, his nephews, *Robert, Count of Artois*, and *Edward of England*, and *Theobald II.*, king of Navarre, who had married his daughter *Isabel*. He sailed from *Aigues Mortes* in the summer of 1270, and having been led by some strange report to believe that his landing on the coast of *Tunis* would be followed by the conversion of the Moorish king, he chose as the place of meeting with Charles of Sicily and Edward of England a sandy beach near the ruins of ancient Carthage. The Moors, of course, only viewed the Christians as enemies, and hovered round the camp on their light horse, spearing all who ventured out of it. Within it, the sicknesses brought from the swamps of *Aigues Mortes* were fostered by the burning sun and brackish water, so that the camp became little better than a pest-house. Death followed upon death. John, called *Tristan*, Lewis' son born at *Damietta*, was one of the first to sink, and multitudes of all ranks followed; the king sickened, but dragged himself from one tent to another, succouring the sufferers as long as he could move. When his strength failed, he gave beautiful counsels to his eldest son and daughter, and then gave himself up to prayer, bidding his servants lay him on a bed of ashes, where, breathing out the words "Jerusalem! Jerusalem!" he died on the 25th of August 1270, just as Charles and Edward were landing in the bay. No king had done so much to raise the power of his crown and its reputation in other lands, and that wholly by righteous means. Thus in the long run his goodness did harm by building up a fabric of power which later kings so dreadfully abused.

18. **Philip III., 1270.**—Poor young *Philip III.* brought back to *St. Denys* five coffins, those of his father, brother,

sister, wife, and child, also of his uncle Alfonso, who left no children. By this another great addition of territory took place, as the county of Toulouse lapsed to the crown. Philip, called the Bold (*le Hardi*), was not a man of mark, but he went on fairly well in the grooves left by his father. He is noted for having granted the first patent of nobility to his silversmith, whereas hitherto a noble had been thought to be born, not made. Nobility meant freedom from taxes, the right to be knighted and to be tried at the royal court, and these rights were inherent in the blood, passing to all the younger sons and their descendants so as to perpetuate a distinct and ever-increasing race.

19. Prosecution of Peter of Brosse, 1276.—Philip's eldest son, *Lewis*, died of a short illness, and suspicion of having poisoned him fell upon *Peter de Brosse*, the king's chamberlain, who tried to turn the accusation against the prince's stepmother, *Mary of Brabant*. But, on a trial before a commission named for the purpose, Peter was found guilty and hanged on the great gibbet of *Mont-faucon*. This was a huge square building with four tiers of arches facing each way, each containing a beam and noose connected with machinery, by which sixty-four executions could take place at one moment. Philip married his next son, *Philip the Fair*, to *Joan of Blois*, the heiress of Navarre, and though her subjects resisted, made good his right, so that for two reigns the kingdoms were united.

20. War with Aragon, 1289.—Philip did not, like his father, keep clear of being made a tool of the pope. When *Martin* the Fourth had declared the crown of Aragon forfeit, because *Pedro III.* had hearkened to the entreaties of the Sicilians to protect them from Charles of Anjou, he accepted it, and led an army into Catalonia. But the Aragonese fleet cut off his supplies, hunger and sickness drove him back, and he died at *Perpignan* on his way home, the third king in succession who had been cut off by fever in an unsuccessful campaign. His son, who was only seventeen, let the war languish, till, through *Edward I.* of England, it was ended by the peace of *Tarascon*.

21. Philip the Fair. War with England and Flanders, 1292.—*Philip IV.*, called the Fair, had as much ability as his forefather, Philip Augustus, but still less principle: he never seems to have been restrained by any scruple of religion, justice, or mercy. A war with

England was provoked by the quarrels of the Norman and Gascon sailors—the Normans being now subjects of France—who committed outrages in each other's ports. As superior lord of Aquitaine, Philip sent to have the Gascon offenders seized, and when the English garrisons would not give them up, cited Edward to answer in his court. Edward did not refuse compensation; he sent his brother Edmund to represent him, and agreed that the castles in Guyenne should be yielded to Philip, who pledged himself to restore them in forty days. But at the end of that time, the mighty Edward found himself tricked, for, so far from the castles being restored, he was freshly cited before the Parliament of Paris, and adjudged to have forfeited his fiefs. This was just as he had a Scottish war and a Welsh revolt on his hands, and his barons were taking advantage of his distress to establish their right to be the only makers of taxes, and would neither go beyond seas to fight nor grant him the means of hiring troops. Edward's ally, *Guy of Dampierre, Count of Flanders*, whose daughter was betrothed to his son, was seized and imprisoned, and only released on condition of breaking the alliance, and giving his daughter as a hostage to Philip. But Flanders being the great cloth factory of Europe, and England alone being peaceful enough for secure keeping of sheep, the two countries could not afford to be on bad terms, and Guy was no sooner free than he formed a fresh league with England, Lorraine, and Burgundy. But Philip was too strong for him, and Edward vainly tried to aid him, being prevented by the resistance of the barons and the war in Scotland. In truth Edward cared more for power in Britain than abroad, and Philip wanted to be free to pursue a desperate quarrel with the pope; so in 1299 they agreed to let matters stand as they were in Guyenne, and that, while Philip ceased to assist the Scots, Edward should give up the Flemings. Guy had been again made prisoner, and declared to have forfeited his country, and Philip made a progress into Flanders, where the burghers found themselves mulcted to pay for all his needs.

22. *Revolt of Flanders, 1302.* — Still the Flemings would not submit. There was a great revolt at *Bruges*, where 3,000 French were killed, and at *Courtrai* a son of the captive count took the command, and was joined by forces from all quarters. Robert of Artois was sent against

him, and at Courtrai was fought a great battle between Flemish burghers and French barons, resulting in the total defeat of the French, and the loss of 200 nobles and 6,000 knights. This was one of the earliest cases of a feudal army being defeated by burghers or other popular infantry. It was thus a great blow to feudalism ; as it was also in another way by the death of so many great lords which helped Philip in his scheme of despotism. He raised money by selling freedom to serfs, and letters of nobility to the nobles, as well as by forcing all who possessed plate to sell it to him for base coin. With an army of 10,000 knights and 40,000 infantry he marched into Flanders ; but he was no soldier, and could do so little that he released old Count Guy, to try to quiet the insurgents. The old man soon found that they would not hearken ; so he gave them his blessing and went back to prison, where he died in 1303. His three sons were thus left free to act, and though defeated at *Mons*, they fought on till the king was forced to give up the struggle, and restore the eldest to his rank and dominions.

23. **Strife with Boniface VIII., 1298.**—One notable mark of the tyranny of the Pest of France, as Dante calls Philip IV., was that it was all done through the Parliament of Paris, which registered whatever he pleased, and whose lawyers advised him. Former kings had kept the nobles in check by resting on the clergy and burghers, but he oppressed all three orders alike, and in 1294 laid a tax, afterwards called the *Maltôte*, or ill-taken, first on merchants, and then on the clergy. They appealed to the pope, *Boniface VIII.*, a fiery old man, *Benedetto Gaetani* by name, and he put forth a bull, called *Clericis Laicos*, forbidding any secular power to demand contributions from the clergy without the consent of the pope. To this Philip paid no heed, and on his laying hands on a fief of the Holy See, Boniface sent a legate to remonstrate. But he unfortunately chose *Bernard of Saisset*, bishop of Pamiers, a Tolosan, who naturally hated the French kings, and talked in the most unmeasured terms of Philip. When the king found that the Bishop had really talked of reviving the independence of the south, he had him arrested, tried, and found guilty by the obedient Parliament. Philip called on the Archbishop of Narbonne to depose him, and on a refusal wrote to the pope to demand his degradation ; but Boniface made a reply which convinced the lawyers that a legate was

inviolable, and on their advice Saisset was released; but was banished from the kingdom. Philip held a *cour plénière* of all his clergy and nobles in 1302, in which his chancellor declared him independent of ecclesiastical power, and the bull *Clericis laicos* was burned. The pope called a council, and Philip forbade the attendance of his clergy, and, when threatened with excommunication, he collected his clergy, and commanded them to depose the Pope. There was really a flaw in Boniface's election, as his predecessor, Celestine V., a simple hermit, chosen in a fit of enthusiasm, had not died, but had resigned; but Philip added to this a list of monstrous and impossible crimes, and indeed he and the pope railed at each other constantly in the most horrible language. At a synod at Anagni Boniface purged himself by oath from all those crimes, but the rage on either side only increased. Philip sent to Anagni a knight named *William de Nogaret*, who took with him *Sciarra Colonna*, of a family of Roman nobles whom Boniface had banished out of hereditary enmity; and they, breaking into the city, furiously bearded the pope, insisting that he should tear up the bull. He listened with firmness and dignity, though Colonna even struck him on the cheek; and, while the people of Anagni were cowed with surprise and horror, Nogaret shut him up without food in his palace, expecting to break his will. The townspeople however rallied, rescued him, and took him to Rome; but the old man, now eighty-five years of age, was so overcome by what he had undergone, that strength and reason failed him, and a few mornings later he was found quite dead, the staff in his hand gnawed and covered with foam, and his white hair stained with blood, as if he had dashed his head against the wall.

24. Removal of the Pope to Avignon.—A new pope, Benedict XI., was chosen, and died as soon as he had shown himself proof against Philip's threats. The conclave was divided between cardinals in Philip's interest and opposed to him, and after long strife it was determined that the Italian party should name three persons, and the French party choose one of them. The three names were sent to Philip, upon which he caused one of those mentioned, a Gascon, named *Bertrand du Got*, *archbishop of Bourdeaux* to be waylaid and secretly brought to him. It was to assure him of the papacy if he would swear to six conditions:—
1. To reconcile Philip to the Church; 2. To absolve Nogaret and Colonna; 3. To grant the king a tenth of

the revenue of the French clergy for five years ; 4. To recall the Colonna family to Rome, and make six French cardinals ; 5. To censure Boniface. The sixth condition was not made known, but the abject Bertrand agreed to all ; the king's pleasure was signified to the cardinals, and his tool was chosen in 1304, and took the name of Clement V. Instead of going to Rome, he summoned the Cardinals to crown him at Lyons. He then was kept for a while by Philip in France, till at last he fixed his dwelling-place just beyond the border, at Avignon. This city remained for seventy years the seat of the papacy, and the popes at Avignon, lying as it were under the shadow of the French kings, were at their beck, and all the moral grandeur of the chair of St. Peter was lost.

25. *Persecution of the Templars.*—The sixth condition has been thought to be the destruction of the Knights of the Temple which now followed. Acre, the last fragment of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem, had been lost in 1291, and the two orders of soldier-monks were waiting in their commanderies and preceptories for a summons to a new crusade, to recover what had been lost. The Hospitallers wisely never gave up their hold on the East, and made the Island of *Rhodes* their headquarters ; but the Templars remained in the West, and were no doubt a thorn in the king's side. They were all men of high birth ; their vows sat lightly on them, and they had a character for pride and violence, so that they had the dislike and ill-will of everyone outside their order ; but as they owned no superior save the pope, they formed one of the bulwarks of his strength. It was therefore quite against his own interest that Clement allowed the conduct of the Templars to be inquired into. The Grand Inquisitor, *William Humbert*, a French Dominican, was to sit in judgement, and Philip got most of the chiefs of the order together at Paris, on pretext of consulting them on the Holy War. On the same night, in October, 1307, all the Templars throughout France were arrested, and called upon to answer the most horrid accusations. They were said to have learnt frightful mysteries among the Moslems, and that after the religious solemnities which in public admitted the knights, they went through secret rites, by which they renounced their faith, defiled the cross, and bound themselves to the most foul and abominable practices. All denied these monstrous tales, but, knights and monks as they were, many were put

to the torture to extort a confession. Most denied with horror all these charges, and many died on the rack ; but some few were brought to say whatever their tormentors put into their mouths. This served as enough excuse for burning the more resolute as obstinate heretics, and fifty-nine thus suffered on the 12th of May, 1310, all declaring their innocence to the last. Nine more were burnt at Senlis. The pope now decreed the dissolution of the order and gave their lands to the Hospitallers. But he did not prevent Philip from keeping all for himself, notably the great tower of the Temple at Paris. For six years longer the grand-master, *James de Molay*, and three others of the chief officers of the order, were kept in prison, and they were then tried in secret by three cardinals. It was said that, worn out by imprisonment and torture, they confessed everything ; but when they were brought forth on a platform before the cathedral of *Notre Dame* to receive sentence of captivity for life, the grand-master, *Jacques De Molay*, and *Guy D'Auvergne*, grand-master of Normandy, retracted, and declared themselves and their dead brethren to be clear from all the horrible charges against them. The three cardinals put off the examination to the next day, but the king was beforehand with them, and at nightfall the two Templars were led out and burnt on the island of the Seine, on the 11th March, 1314. James de Molay is said to have summoned Pope Clement to meet him before the judgement-seat of God in forty days time, and King Philip within a year, to answer for his death and that of his knights.

26. *Annexation of Lyons, 1314.*—Clement actually died on the fortieth day, and Philip in less than a year. They had between them carried out another act of injustice. The imperial city of Lyons stood on the very borders of France, and the French kings claimed jurisdiction in that part of the city which lay west of the Rhone. There were many disputes between the archbishops and the citizens, and the citizens at last appealed to Philip. He took advantage of the weakness of the empire to send his eldest son *Lewis*, with an army, to seize the city in his name, and thus add it to his dominions. This was the beginning of the process by which nearly all the old kingdom of Burgundy had been added to France. It is the first case of annexation of territory which had nothing to do with France, as distinguished from the incorporation of fiefs held of the French crown. Philip's exactions

and cruelties were so intolerable that his nobles were mustering against him, when a fall from his horse brought on a low fever, and he died on the 29th of November, 1314. He was an attorney king of the very worst sort ; not going against the law, like the ruder sort of tyrant, but twisting the law to its worst possible use.

27. Lewis X., Hutin, 1314.—The new king, *Lewis X.*, was known by the odd nickname of *Hutin* or fractious. He let his father's brother, *Charles, Count of Valois*, govern in his father's fashion, while he gave himself up to sports and revelries. He died on the 5th of June, 1316, leaving only one daughter. But a son *John*, was born in the following November, only to live six days, and was carried in the arms of his uncle Philip to the grave as a king.

28. Philip the Long, 1316.—From Hugh Capet to this "chrisom child," the kingdom of the house of Paris had gone from father to son. Was the crown now to pass to the late king's daughter or to his brother Philip? Philip seized the crown ; and the Parliament had to find a legal confirmation of his act. They therefore went back to the customs of the Salian Franks, and declared that their law was that no woman might inherit land. Half the estates in the kingdom had gone through heir-esses, but the rule was accepted as law, and settled the matter in favour of Philip. He died after five years of a reign as cruel as his father's. He and *Pope John XXII.* savagely persecuted the Franciscan friars, who had preached against their vices, putting them to death in great numbers on an accusation of heresy. Everything was in confusion ; the serfs and shepherds were seized with enthusiasm, and vowed to go crusading, but instead they fell on their lords, plundering castles and churches till the king and nobles gained the mastery and slaughtered them in troops. Such wretchedness prevailed everywhere that curses on the king were on each tongue, and his early death was thought to be the consequence.

29. Charles IV., the Fair, 1322.—The reign of his brother, *Charles the Fair*, is chiefly noted for the crime of his sister, *Isabel* queen of England. Her husband, *Edward II.*, was tired of crossing the sea to do homage for Guyenne to his short-lived brothers-in-law, and sent his son *Edward* with her in his stead. He thus gave her the opportunity of raising the force with which she was enabled to act "the she-wolf of France," by dethroning and

murdering her husband. This was but a year before Charles IV. found himself dying, and devised that, if the child shortly expected, proved to be a son, its guardian should be his cousin, *Philip, Count of Valois*; if it were a daughter, the twelve peers and high barons of France should award the kingdom to whoever had the best right. He died in 1328, and the child was a daughter.

CHAPTER V.

THE HUNDRED YEARS' WAR.

1. **Accession of Philip VI., 1328.**—On the birth of the posthumous daughter of Charles IV., *Philip, Count of Valois*, son of the second son of Philip III., took the title of king, but there were two others to claim it. One was Lewis Hutin's daughter Joan, who had married *Philip, Count of Evreux*, whom Philip of Valois bought off by giving up the kingdom of Navarre, which had been kept in the hands of her uncles. The other was *Edward III.* of England, whose claim was that, though a woman might not reign in France, she could transmit the right to her son, and that he was the male heir nearest in blood to the late king Charles IV. But Edward was at that time only sixteen years old, and in spite of his protest, he paid his homage at Philip's coronation, and only renewed his claim some years later at the persuasion of *Robert of Artois*. This man had been disappointed of the inheritance of Artois, which the parliament had adjudged to a female heir. After in vain trying to back up his cause by forgery, he fled to England in 1330, and practised magical arts to cause Philip's death. On Edward's refusal to surrender him, Philip all the more harassed the English lands in Gascony, and in fact his attempts on Aquitaine were the real cause which drove the king of England into war.

2. **War with the English in Flanders, 1337.**—*Lewis, Count of Flanders*, was a friend and ally of Philip, but he was harsh and grasping towards his burgher subjects, the great cloth-workers. In the first year of Philip's reign, they rose, and the King and Count together had defeated them at *Cassel*, and took such vengeance on

Ypres and *Bruges* as to sow the seeds of further strife. And when, on the quarrel between the kings, Lewis forbade the cloth-weaving subjects to carry on their trade in wool with England, there was a great outbreak, led by a great burgher of *Ghent* named *Jacob von Artevelde*, a man of much wealth and cultivation, a brewer by trade. Under his leading, *Ghent*, *Bruges*, and *Ypres* again drove out the Count's officers, and allied themselves with the English. The whole English nation was eager for war. Edward embarked for *Flanders*; he met the Emperor *Lewis of Bavaria* at *Coblenz*, and was named his Vicar in the Low Countries; but he could gain no support from any French vassal, and had no other ally but his brother-in-law, the *Count of Hainault*. The Flemings now called on Edward to take the title of King of France, as, besides their country being a French fief, they had specially bound themselves not to make war on the king of France. If Edward therefore took the title, they might fight for him against Philip and still keep their promise. He accordingly took the title and bore the arms of King of France. Meanwhile the French sacked *Southampton*, and *Hainault* was attacked by *John, Duke of Normandy*. Edward, while sailing to its aid, encountered the French fleet off *Sluys*, a place so shut in that the French ships could not move, and with 20,000 men fell an easy prey to the English. This was the first of the many great naval victories won by England over France. Philip marched against Edward; but no battle took place, and a truce was made.

3. The War of the Breton succession, 1341.—A fresh plea for war was found in the succession of *Britanny*, which on the death of the childless duke, *John III.*, was disputed between *Joan*, the daughter of the next brother, and *John, Count of Montfort*, the youngest brother. The Parliament of *Paris* decided in favour of *Joan*, who was wife of *Charles, Count of Blois*. *Montfort* asked aid from Edward, so that each king upheld in *Britanny* the very principle that would have shut him out from the throne of France: besides which, *Joan*, the brave wife of *Montfort*, was the daughter of Philip's ally, the Count of *Flanders*. The French army brought in the Countess of *Blois*, taking *Nantes*, and *John of Montfort* in it, and only being stopped by the bravery of *Joan of Flanders* who defended *Hennebonne* till succour was brought her from England by *Sir Walter Manny*. After a skirmish

at *Vannes*, in which the English party were worsted and Robert of Artois killed, a truce was made, during which Philip gave a splendid festival at Paris, defraying the cost with the *gabelle*, a tax which had been levied on salt to meet the expenses of the war. He took the opportunity of seizing fifteen of his guests, Breton and Norman nobles, who had been inclined to the English, and putting them to death, thus rendering the French name hateful in Brittany. John of Montfort escaped from prison, but only to die ; and while his young son was bred up in England the war was carried on by his widow. In 1345 Jacob von Artevelde, whose measures on the behalf of England had affronted the mob of Ghent, so that they attacked and plundered his house, was killed together with seventy of his friends.

4. Campaign of Crécy, 1346.—*Geoffry of Harcourt*, a Norman lord estranged from Philip by his violence, persuaded Edward to land in Normandy. After ravaging that duchy the English were marching towards Flanders to obtain supplies when Philip, with 3,000 horse, 30,000 foot, and 6,000 Genoese archers, intercepted them in Ponthieu, meaning to bar the passage of the Somme. In his army were a crowd of foreign princes, especially the king's father-in-law, John of Luxemburg, king of Bohemia, the son of the Emperor Henry the Seventh, and his son Charles, who had just been chosen King of the Romans, in opposition to Edward's friend Lewis of Bavaria. King John was now old and blind, but he still fought as a knight errant. There were also princes of Lorraine and Savoy, and a force of mercenary Genoese cross-bowmen. France had a gallant cavalry in her nobles, but no infantry to oppose to the yeomen archers of England. Edward was posted at *Crécy*, where Philip gave battle on the 25th of August, 1236, immediately on coming up after a march on a sultry showery day. The bow strings of the Genoese who were sent on in front, were damp, and their arrows would not fly, and the poor men were between the enemy and the French knights who wanted to charge. "Clear away this rabble !" cried Philip ; so the knights began by cutting down their own hired allies, the English archers on the hill above making havoc of them. Though the Count of Alençon for a moment broke the English ranks, the fight was nothing but a rout, chiefly fatal to the bravest, among whom was the King of Bohemia. The two other kings, Charles and Philip, escaped, leaving dead on the

plain the Dukes of Lorraine and Bourbon, the Counts of Flanders, Nevers and Savoy, two archbishops, 80 barons, 1,200 knights, and 30,000 soldiers. Edward next besieged *Calais*, and during the blockade, which lasted all the winter, Philip's allies, *David II.* of Scotland and *Charles of Blois*, were made prisoners, the one at Nevil's Cross and the other at *Roche Derrien*. When brought to the extremity of famine, the burghers of Calais accepted Edward's terms, namely, that six should come in sackcloth with ropes round their necks to die for their obstinacy : but, when they knelt before him, he yielded to the queen's prayers and spared their lives. He drove out however all the French inhabitants, though many came back, and made it an English colony, so as to keep an ever open door into France. A brief truce ensued, during which a horrid pestilence called the Black Death raged throughout Europe and swept off a third of the whole population of France.

5. Acquisition of the Dauphiny, 1349. — *Joan I.*, Queen of Naples, the last direct descendant of Charles of Anjou, was driven to take refuge in her county of Provence by Lewis the Great, King of Hungary, whose brother, her husband, Andrew, she had probably murdered. In her distress she sold Avignon to *Pope Clement VI.*, and adopted as her heir the King's grandson, *Charles, Duke of Anjou*, second son of John, Duke of Normandy. This was the beginning of the second Angevin dynasty in Naples. Thus France was further mixed up with the affairs of Italy, and at the same time it made a great advance beyond the Rhone, to which the way had been opened by the annexation of Lyons. The *Dauphiny* or county of *Viennois* had been ruled by a series of counts called *Dauphins*, apparently from the dolphin in their coats of arms. *Humbert*, the last of these, on becoming a priest, sold the county to John on condition that it should be held by the king's eldest son, and should remain a fief of the empire. This last condition was gradually eluded ; but, as long as the kingdom lasted, the heir apparent bore the title of *Dauphin of Viennois*. Just as this was arranged, Philip ended his reign of war and disaster by his death in 1350.

6. John's Quarrel with Charles of Navarre, 1350. — The new King John, called *Le Bon*, had small abilities, a narrow mind, hot temper, and was full of fanciful notions of honour, so that gallantry and baseness take strange turns

in his actions. The highest officer of state was the Constable (*comes stabuli*, count of the stable or master of the horse), who had the right to muster and lead the army. The *Count of Eu*, who held this post, had been made prisoner by the English, and on coming home to collect his ransom, was put to death on suspicion of treason, while his office was given to *Charles of Spain*, an exiled Castilian prince. The choice gave great offence to *Charles I., King of Navarre* and *Count of Evreux*, the grandson of Louis Hutin, and he gained his title of the Bad by having the new constable murdered. Then shutting himself up at Evreux, he allied himself with the English. Viewing the execution of their captive as a breach of the truce, they renewed the war, and Edward *Prince of Wales* landed in Gascony and pillaged Languedoc. To obtain supplies, John called together the *States General*, but they only consented on condition of themselves appointing the collectors, and of clergy and nobles paying as well as the commons, also of the abolition of the *droit de prise* or right of seizing victuals and horses for the king's use whenever he was on a journey. They confirmed however the *gabelle* or salt tax, and granted a property tax, which the nobles resented so much that many, with Charles the Bad, as Count of Evreux, at their head, prevented it from being raised in their lands. John swore that no one save himself should be master; and his son, the Dauphin *Charles*, invited them to Rouen to a feast, and there arrested them all, putting many to death, and keeping the King of Navarre a prisoner, while his lands, of Evreux were seized.

7. The Battle of Poitiers, 1356.—The Prince of Wales had made another inroad from Gascony as far as the Loire, when John and his sons made speed to cut off their return, and force them to fight at such disadvantage that the Prince was about to accept the mediation of the Papal legate. But John, in security of victory, insisted on terms so hard as to leave the English no choice save to defend themselves to the last in the hedges and vineyards round *Maupertuis*. To these *Sir John Chandos*, the only man in either army who seems to have had any notion of tactics or government, trusted to shelter the archers and break the charge of the French knights, and he also put 600 men in ambush behind a hill. While the French were charging through the storm of arrows from the vineyards, these men fell on them in flank, bringing

roul and dismay. "Ride forward, the day is yours!" cried Chandos to his prince; and as the English rushed on in full career, the main body of the French army with John's three elder sons took flight. John himself kept his own troop firm, calling on them to dismount and use swords and battle-axes, but they had not weight enough to stand the English charge, and were broken and trodden down, so that the king fought bravely, but had no choice but to surrender. This battle, called after the city of *Poitiers*, was fought on the 19th of September, 1356. It cost France 11,000 slain, and 2,000 prisoners of knightly rank.

8. *Stephen Marcel*, 1356 and *Jacquerie*.—Paris, under *Stephen Marcel*, the provost of the merchants, prepared for defence, and gave no warm welcome to the runaway princes. The Dauphin Charles was a man of weak health and no soldier, but of keen, crafty wit, well able to bide his time. When, in the States General, which he assembled to provide for defence, he found Marcel the leading spirit, he made no protest against a decree that the King of Navarre should be released, and that he himself should be controlled as Lieutenant of the kingdom by a council of 36, who were to reform the abuses perpetrated by the royal officers. It was indeed time. The miseries of France were unspeakable. Bands of Free Lances roamed the country, living by ruthless plunder of the peasants; yet they were hardly more cruel than the lords of the soil themselves, who, wanting money for their ransoms, beat and tortured unmercifully such of the peasants as they suspected of having hoarded their savings. The saying among the gentry was, "Jacques Bonhomme has a broad back and must bear the burthen;" and the wretchedness of the peasants was such that they hid themselves in the woods, or dug pits to lurk in out of sight of their tormentors, nor was there any pity for them. The Dauphin could no longer delay the release of the King of Navarre, who entered Paris with great pomp, and made a speech, hinting at his own claims to the crown. A semblance was made of giving back his county of Evreux; but the castles were not yielded, and John sent commands from England forbidding heed to the decrees of the States General. Such baffling of their measures enraged the popular party, and Marcel, feeling himself strong enough to overcome the Dauphin, entered the Louvre, and called

on him to put an end to the troubles and defend the kingdom. "Let those guard the kingdom who take the money," sneered Charles. Whereupon, at a sign from Marcel, his followers killed the two marshals of Normandy and Champagne. The Dauphin begged for mercy on his knees, and Marcel, putting his badge, a blue and red cap, on his head, and pointing to the bodies, said, "I require you to sanction the death of those traitors, since the deed was by the will of the people." Charles feigned submission; but he soon escaped, and raised troops in the south to attack Paris, while Marcel turned the royal garrison out of the Louvre and drew chains across the streets. The sight of the strife among the oppressors emboldened the down-trodden peasantry. At first a few Auvergnats broke into a castle near Clermont, killed those within, and set it on fire and having thus felt their strength, hosts arose with one cry, "Death to the lords!" Wherever castle or town could be broken into by men armed with knives, axes, and scythes, there every one that could be called noble was slaughtered in revenge for years of cruel oppression. This outbreak was called the *Jacquerie*, from *Jacques Bonhomme*, the nobles' nickname for the peasants. Marcel made common cause with them, sending a troop to aid them against the castle of *Meaux*. In that castle were royal men-at-arms, cruel spoilers of the neighbourhood, and likewise the Dauphin's wife, *Joan of Bourbon*, and 300 ladies, whose fate would have been dreadful had they fallen into the hands of the 10,000 maddened peasants who howled round the walls. Two Gascon knights, the *Captal de Buch* and Gaston de Foix, with 100 lances (*i.e.* 400 men), were returning from a crusade against the heathen Prussians, when they heard of the ladies' distress. Viewing their rescue as a knightly duty, though they themselves were subjects of the king of England, they dashed in on the half-armed mob in the market-place, killing and scattering these wild bands. Another large gathering was destroyed by Charles of Navarre, and the nobles fell on the rest, killing, burning, and ravaging; so that the *Jacquerie* made the state of the country worse than ever. The Dauphin was free to advance on Paris, and Marcel called in the King of Navarre, and made him Captain-General of the city; but such a train of ruffianly men-at-arms came with him that the Parisians sent to entreat the Dauphin to deliver them. He answered that he would never set foot in the

city while the murderer of the marshals was alive ; and Marcel, forsaken by all, was struck down in a crowd and slain in 1358, just as he was going, in his despair, to proclaim Charles the Bad king of France. He seems to have been a man with an honest desire to redress wrongs and obtain right, but nobody really understood or supported him, and he was left to perish. It was the first of the many efforts against oppression always with some murder, and many bravados, which only ended in riveting the yoke on the French, while the English, without words and with few blows, gained the point by steady firmness.

9. The Peace of Bretigny, 1360.—King John in 1360 signed a treaty with England by which he obtained his freedom on condition of yielding all that the ancestors of Edward had held—in fact all the Atlantic coast of France ; but the whole people, with the Dauphin at their head, refused to be bound by it. On this Edward made another invasion, meaning to be crowned at Rheims ; but he failed to take the city, and as the wretched country had been untilled for three years, lack of food drove him back into Brittany. The Pope, *Innocent VI.*, interfered, and by his means was concluded the famous *Peace of Bretigny*. By this Edward resigned his claims to the French crown and to Normandy, Maine, and Anjou ; but he kept Guienne, Saintonge, Gascony, Poitou, Ponthieu, and Calais in independent sovereignty, with no duty of homage to the King of France. Edward now gave up his title of king of France, and called himself *Lord of Aquitaine*, instead of Duke. The Prince of Wales received these lands in fief with the title of *Prince of Aquitaine*, and held a splendid court at Bourdeaux. John's ransom was fixed at 30,000,000 crowns of gold, of which 60,000 were paid at once, being obtained from the Milanese family of *Visconti*. For the remainder the king's second and third sons, Lewis, Duke of Anjou, and John, Duke of Berry became hostages, being allowed to live at Calais, and spend four days at a time away from it. The Duke of Anjou broke his word, left Calais, and never returned ; and his father always punctilious in dealings with equals, and finding his prison a place of more ease than his throne, held himself bound to go back and surrender himself to Edward. He was received with great feasts, in the midst of which he died

in London three months after his return, in 1364. The last years of John are also notable for the beginning of the French connexion with Milan in a marriage between John Galeazzo Visconti, son of the reigning tyrant of that city, and king John's daughter Isabel. Also the great fief of ducal Burgundy fell in to the crown, by the extinction of the dukes descended from Hugh Capet. Its annexation would have gone some way to make up for his cessions to England, but John at once granted the duchy to his son *Philip*. So began the line of Valois dukes of Burgundy, who presently became so dangerous to the French crown.

10. *Rise of Du Guesclin, 1364.*—John's son *Charles V.* shows to much greater advantage as King than as Dauphin. Eight years' experience as regent had taught him that violence did nothing but harm, and his wary patience had fair play when he was at the head of affairs. He had also had that most important quality in a king, the power of finding out good servants and winning their hearts, while he made his will felt, and thus he did much to heal the sores left by the rough treatment of the former kings. In the Breton wars a knight named *Bertrand Du Guesclin* had shown more than common skill as a leader. To him Charles gave the command of a force sent to attack the King of Navarre's county of Evreux. Charles brought all his force, and at Cocherel in a battle with the troops commanded by the Gascon Captal de Buch, gained such a victory as gave almost the whole of Normandy back to the king. However, he had a great reverse the next year at *Auray*, in Brittany, where he was fighting on the side of Charles of Blois, against the young *John of Montfort*, who was under the charge of Sir John Chandos. As usual, the generalship of Chandos gained the day, Charles of Blois was killed, and his widow being unable to carry on the struggle, the twenty-four years' war ended by the establishment of John of Montfort as Duke of Brittany.

11. *The expedition to Castile, 1365.*—The peace of Bretigny prevented open war, but the wretched people did not profit much. For bands of Free Lances roamed the country, living on the ransoms they could squeeze from those who could pay them; and, where none was forthcoming, robbing, torturing, and slaying in the most savage manner. While the king was devising how to rid himself of these locusts, a suppliant came to him from Castile

That kingdom was now suffering under the rule of its king, *Peter the Cruel*, who had murdered his illegitimate brothers, and had committed many other barbarities, including the murder of his wife *Blanche of Bourbon*. One of his half-brothers, *Henry, Count of Trastamare*, fled to France, beseeching aid against him ; and it struck Charles that to send the Free Lances to dethrone Peter would be a happy means of delivering France. So Du Guesclin took the command ; on the way he levied a large contribution from the Pope at Avignon, safely reached Castile, where the people rose against their tyrant, drove him away, and crowned Henry. Peter fled to Bourdeaux to ask aid of the Prince of Aquitaine. As France and England always took the opposite sides, Edward espoused the cause of Peter, and prepared to restore him. On this all the Free Lances who had just set Henry on the throne went over to the other side, in order to fight under their favourite leader "the Black Prince." In 1367 Henry and Du Guesclin were defeated at *Navarete* in Castile, and Du Guesclin was made prisoner. Peter was set on the throne again, but he failed in his engagements to the English ; and the Spanish climate and fiery wines did Charles's work more effectually than lance or sword—not only on the Free Lances, but on the Prince of Wales, whose health was so ruined that the rest of his life was only one long disease. He took Du Guesclin back to Bourdeaux, but accepted a ransom from him of 100,000 francs. The first use the Breton made of his freedom was to join Henry of Trastamare and the Castilians in a fresh rising, which resulted in Peter being killed in a hand-to-hand struggle with his brother before the castle of *Montiel*.

12. *Renewal of the War, 1370.*—Impoverished by his fruitless campaign, the Black Prince levied a hearth tax, greatly against the advice of that really great man, Chandos. Against this tax the Gascons appealed to the King of France. By the Peace of Bretigny Aquitaine had become wholly independent of France, so that the French king had no right to receive the appeal. But Charles saw his advantage, took up their cause, and interfered, insulting Edward III. by sending him a challenge by the hands of a scullion. On this breach of the treaty the English Parliament advised their master again to take up the title of King of France. War was declared, but pitched battles were strictly forbidden. Hunger.

harassing, the sieges of castles were to be the way of carrying on the war, without fighting in the open field. The Black Prince, though unable to sit on horseback, advanced from the south in 1371, took *Limoges* and sacked it with savage cruelty, but he was immediately after obliged to return to England. Charles very wisely made Du Guesclin Constable, though he was not one of the great nobility. The English were gradually driven out of their possessions. In 1373 John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, King Edward's third son, was allowed to march all through France and Aquitaine to Bourdeaux, where he reached with a shattered force, and had to go back to England, like his brother. The English now kept nothing but Calais, Cherbourg, Brest, Bourdeaux, and Bayonne. A truce of two years was made in 1375, during which Charles did much to bring his kingdom into a state of defence; and as both King Edward and his son the Prince died before the term was over, leaving their kingdom to the child *Richard II.*, the balance was much in favour of Charles. He had also deprived Charles of Navarre of much power of doing mischief by an exchange of the southern city of *Montpellier* for the Norman county of Evreux.

13. The Revolts of Flanders and Brittany, 1378.—*Lewis* called *le Mate*, the last of the Dampierre Counts of Flanders, had always been devoted to the cause of France, and had married his only daughter *Margaret* to *Philip*, Duke of Burgundy, the King's youngest brother. Of this marriage came the union between Flanders and Burgundy, and the great growth of the power of the Burgundian dukes. The Count's haughty demeanour and heavy exactions made him much disliked, and a party in Ghent and Bruges, called the White Hoods, agreed to resist his demands; when he called on the authorities of Ghent to break up the league, such a tumult arose that he was forced to hide under a bed in a poor widow's cottage till he could escape to the court, where Charles did not think him worthy of assistance. As the Flemings were inclined to the English, while their Count held to the French, so the Bretons were so much devoted to the French, and their duke was so steady to the English that, when John of Montfort was driven out, Charles thought he might safely declare the duchy forfeit to the crown for his treason. But this at once roused the national spirit, and the Bretons rose on behalf of Duke John. Du Guesclin gave

up his Constable's sword, and was about to retire to Castile ; but the king soothed him, and sent him to reduce some castles in the south which still held for the English. Before one of these, named *Château Randon*, the great Constable died of a fever, and it was in his dead hand that the keys were laid by the English captain, who would not surrender them to any meaner foe. His office was given to *Oliver de Clisson*, a Breton of the same type, but more cruel and ruthless, and with a strong personal hatred to the duke and to the English. They had put his brother to death ; and he had therefore sworn to give no quarter, so that they called him the Butcher. The *Duke of Gloucester* came to the aid of Montfort, and a battle was about to take place on the Sarthe, when tidings came of the death of Charles V., on the 16th of September, 1380. He had always been of weak health, and was said never to have recovered from poison given him by the King of Navarre. His wife, Joan of Bourbon, was already dead, and France was left, like England, to a boy king, surrounded by ambitious uncles.

14. **The Flemish Revolt Subdued, 1381.**—*Charles VI.* was twelve years old, and the uncles who had him in charge were *Lewis, Duke of Anjou*, the adopted son of the Queen of Naples, *John, Duke of Berry*, and *Philip, Duke of Burgundy*, besides his uncle on the mother's side, *Lewis, Duke of Bourbon*, who could trace a direct descent in the male line from St. Lewis's second son, and *John of Montfort, Duke of Brittany*, who made his peace with the new king, and claimed his place at the council. The most able of these was Philip. Philip's first wish was to restore his father-in-law, the Count of Flanders, who was living in exile at Paris, while Ghent and Bruges and the other cities were leagued under the leadership of *Philip van Artevelde*, the son of the ally of Edward III. The young king was taken on this campaign, and a complete victory was gained at *Rosbecque* over the men of Ghent and Bruges, who came out in their guilds, but could not stand against the knights, and trampled Philip van Artevelde to death in their flight. Still Ghent would not surrender, and Lewis le Male ravaged the country till his death in 1383, when the Duke of Burgundy, succeeding him in right of his wife, granted a pardon to the insurgents, and made peace.

15. **The Great Schism, 1378.**—There had been an attempt to bring the popes back to Rome, but so great

was the dislike of many of the cardinals to that city, that it had only ended in the election of two rival popes. *Urban VI.* reigned at Rome, *Clement VII.* at Avignon. The first was owned by England and all her allies, the second by France and hers, and as both were needy and distressed, exactions on their part, and corruption on that of the clergy, grew worse and worse. Italy was, of course, for the Roman pope, and therefore was not favourable to Lewis of Anjou, when, on the death of Queen Joan, he set out to take possession of Naples. He was defeated by *Charles of Durazzo*, the direct heir in the male line, and soon after died, leaving his claim to be a snare to the family ever after.

16. **Madness of the King, 1392.**—There was great hatred between the Duke of Brittany and the Constable de Clisson, who gave his son in marriage to *Margaret of Penthièvre*, the daughter of the rival house of Blois. Shortly afterwards Clisson was set upon by night in the streets of Paris, and left for dead by murderers, who, without doubt, came from Brittany; and Charles VI. who was much attached to the old warrior, collected his army, and set forth in great wrath to avenge his wrongs. But while passing through the forest of *Le Mans*, on a very hot day, the king and his train were half asleep, when a crazy stranger rushed out, crying, "Ride no further, king, thou art betrayed." He fled at once, but the fright and heat worked deadly harm on Charles's brain, and the jingling of a lance against a helmet startled him into an access of insanity. He was carried home raving, and though he recovered after a time, he was again driven mad with terror at the Christmas feasts, when he and five nobles had come in as wild men of the woods, in closely-fitting dresses of tow, adorned with green boughs, and all, save himself, chained together. His brother, *Lewis, Duke of Orleans*, holding a torch too near one of the masquers, set the tow on fire, and all were burned to death except one who broke the chain and leaped into a tub of water, and Charles himself, over whom the Duchess of Berry threw her mantle. The shock brought back the madness, and for the rest of his life he was subject to attacks which so weakened his mind that he gradually became imbecile. No provision had been made for such a state of things; so the power was grasped by whoever stood nearest; at first by one or other of his uncles, and later by his brother, the Duke of Orleans, aided by the Queen, *Isabel of*

Bavaria, a dull, selfish woman, lost to all sense of duty. She neglected her husband in his fits of madness, leaving him deprived of all comforts and decencies, and unheeded by any one save the Milanese wife of the Duke of Orleans, *Valentina Visconti*, who could soothe and cheer him when in his saddest state. The two rival kingdoms were in no state for war, and in 1396 a truce was made, and afterwards prolonged for twenty-eight years, on condition that Richard should restore Brest to Brittany, and Cherbourg to France, and should marry *Isabel*, the seven-years-old daughter of Charles. In the same year *John*, count of *Nevers*, known as the *Fearless*, the son of the Duke of Burgundy, led a great force to help Sigismund, King of Hungary (who was afterwards Emperor) against the Ottoman Sultan Bajazet. But the Christian army was defeated at Nikopolis, and most of the Burgundian knights were massacred by the Turks. Count John and some others were ransomed.

17. **Rivalry of Orleans and Burgundy, 1402.**—In 1399 the dethronement of Richard II. threatened to disturb the truce with England, for the Duke of Orleans would not acknowledge *Henry IV.* Philip of Burgundy took his part, and there were such fierce disputes between the uncle and nephew that they nearly came to blows. Lewis of Orleans appears to have had no notion save of making the people supply means for the pleasures of their masters ; but the Duke of Burgundy was for sparing and protecting them, and thus so gained the hearts of the people of Paris that they were devoted to his family for three generations. In him the unhappy king lost one true friend on his death in 1404. Even during his illness the Duke of Orleans broke into the treasury and seized 800,000 gold crowns, two-thirds of the contents, causing such a scandal that the king, in a lucid interval, sent for the new Duke John of Burgundy. Lewis of Orleans fled at his approach, carrying off the queen, her children, and those of John himself. However the children were overtaken and brought back, and Duke John fortified Paris and armed the citizens. War was prevented by the Dukes of Berry and Bourbon, and a sort of reconciliation was made, though the two cousins hated one another with deadly hatred. Lewis squandered the public money, and disgraced the queen and himself by their vices, while John showed some desire for the welfare of the kingdom, though not so much as for his own greatness.

In the November of 1407 there was another reconciliation. John and Lewis swore to lay aside malice, and then received the Holy Sacrament together. Lewis was probably in earnest; for, though worthless and selfish, he was not vindictive; but the fierce John had already decided on sweeping him from his path. A few nights later, on the 23rd of November, the Duke of Orleans, when leaving the queen's abode, was attacked in the streets of Paris by eighteen men, and killed on the spot. The Duke of Burgundy, though making no secret of his guilt, tried to take his seat in the council, but the doors were shut against him, and he went off to Lille. In vain did the Duchess of Orleans throw herself at the king's feet with her children, imploring justice on the murderer; the helpless Charles could only weep with her; no one else heeded the death of his worthless brother. In February, Duke John was received at Paris with a triumphal procession, and employed a friar named *John Petit*, a doctor of the University, to preach a sermon justifying the murder of a tyrant by examples from sacred and profane history. Letters of pardon, of the Duke's own dictation, were actually wrung from the poor king, and though, when John was called away by a revolt at Liége, a sermon was preached condemning the murder, and the pardon annulled by the Parliament, he had only to return to have everything at his feet, and the Duchess Valentina died of grief.

18. **The Armagnacs and Burgundians, 1401.** — The cause was taken up by *Bernard, count of Armagnac*, a descendant of the old dukes of Gascony, and father-in-law of the new Duke Charles of Orleans. From him the Orleans party took the name of Armagnacs, and adopted his badge, a red cross. The Dauphin *Lewis*, eldest son of Charles, joined this party, and, backed by a fierce troop of Gascons, he carried on a desultory warfare with the Burgundians. The white cross of Burgundy was the badge of most of the Parisians, and the guild of butchers, under a man named *Caboché*, seized the Bastille, and took all the offices into their own hands. Oddly enough, the butchers were in league with the doctors of law of the University. The States-General were settled, and a good code of laws, known commonly as the "*Cabochin Ordinance*," was put forth in 1413. But a reaction followed. The Armagnacs were called in; the butchers were put to flight, John of Burgundy was driven out, and the sons of

Lewis of Orleans were brought back to Paris. The young Duke Charles was of a gentle, poetical nature, but he was a mere boy, and the Count of Armagnac treated the city as if it had been taken by assault, fining, imprisoning, and hanging all Burgundians and all reformers, till no one dared to be seen talking in the street lest he should be accused. When the unfortunate Parisians complained to the Duke of Berry, all the answer they got was, "It concerns you not at all; you ought not to meddle in matters concerning the king, or us who are of his blood. When we please, we are angry, and when we please, we grant peace."

19. **Invasion of Henry V., 1415.**—Since the breach of the Peace of Bretigny there had been no peace with England, but only truces, and the English kings still called themselves Kings of France. Henry IV. had played the game of helping both French parties in turn. Henry V., seeing the utter weakness of the French kingdom, determined to renew the war in earnest. But he began by requesting the restoration of Aquitaine in full sovereignty, with the hand of the king's daughter *Katharine*, and Normandy, Anjou, and Maine as her dower. The dauphin is said to have replied by sending a basket of tennis-balls as fit toys for the "madcap prince." Each side armed, but John of Burgundy held aloof; while Henry, with 26,000 men, landed in Normandy, and took Harfleur. Scarcity of food forced him to march towards Calais, and the forces of France mustered to intercept him. The French had by far the larger army, an army full of courage, but disorderly and boastful, each prince and noble acting for himself and despising all authority, though the dauphin was present. The battle took place at *Azincour*, on the 25th of October, 1415, where, compact, orderly, and resolute as the English were, the hot valour of the more numerous French must have won the day had they been properly disciplined, but, as it was, it only rendered their loss more frightful. The dauphin fled, but the *Constable d'Albret*, the *Duke of Alençon*, and 10,000 more were slain; and the Duke of Orleans, *Arthur, count of Richemont*, brother of the Duke of Brittany, and many more were made prisoners. Henry broke through the usual practice, and would not put them to ransom, meaning to keep them till his conquest should be complete. He allowed no pillage, but treated the country people as his native subjects returning to their allegiance, and the

places he mastered soon found themselves far better off than under the Valois anarchy.

20. **Ascendency of Burgundy, 1416.**—The Dauphin Lewis, eldest son of Charles VI., died early. The next brother *John*, a thorough Burgundian, died a few months later. His death was thought to have been caused by poison, given in the interest of the last brother, *Charles*. He was a mere boy, who was wholly in the hands of the Count of Armagnac, who had obtained the constable's sword and lorded it over all France. A Breton named *Tanneguy Duchâtel* was Provost of Paris, and much misused his office, debasing the coinage, exacting forced loans, and bringing about the banishment of the queen to Tours on account of her dissolute life. This threw her into the arms of the Burgundians. John, with a Flemish army, came and freed her from captivity; he was forgiven for the murder of the Duke of Orleans, and declared Regent. In the meantime Henry of England, who came again in 1417, was taking city after city in Normandy unopposed; for the Dukes of Anjou and Brittany had made truces with him, securing their own borders, and John the Fearless did the same for Flanders and Artois.

21. **Fall of Armagnac, 1418.**—Paris hated the Armagnac rule, and when some young men opened the gate at night and brought in a Burgundian captain named *Lisle Adam*, with 800 men, the people rose in fury; and though Tanneguy Duchâtel shut himself up in the *Bastille*, or great fortress of Paris, with the dauphin, the king and constable fell into their hands. The wrongs which they had so long suffered filled the mob with the mad thirst for blood that has from time to time disgraced the towns of France, and the massacre lasted twenty-eight hours. Men, women, and children were alike slain, even new-born babes, who were killed unbaptized as accursed little Armagnacs. The Count himself was slain, and his corpse was dragged through the streets. Duchâtel was out of Paris with the dauphin, and at Poitiers proclaimed young Charles lieutenant-general of the kingdom, but did nothing except ravaging the lands round Paris to famish their enemies. The Duke of Burgundy and Queen Isabel had stopped the murders, but the misery, famine and deadly sickness went on. Neither party succoured Rouen, which held out bravely against the English till it was forced to yield early in 1419.

22. Murder of John the Fearless and Treaty of Troyes, 1419.—The fall of Rouen startled the Duke of Burgundy into seeking a reconciliation with the Armagnacs. But Duchâtel kept the dauphin apart from his family, fearing to lose influence, and on the 10th of September, 1419, at an interview between the duke and the dauphin on the bridge of *Montereau* over the Yonne, while John was bending the knee, he was treacherously slain. There is little doubt that it was with the consent of the dauphin, who was only fifteen, and in a strange, sluggish, helpless mood, entirely led by Duchâtel. The immediate effect of the murder was to throw the whole north of France into the hands of the English. The new Duke of Burgundy, *Philip*, called the Good, aged twenty-three, at once went over to Henry with all the forces of Flanders. The cry of Paris was, "A hundred times rather the English than the Armagnacs," so that the saying arose, "the wounds of John the Fearless were the hole that let in the English." Queen Isabel, in the name of her defenceless husband, denounced her son as a traitor and murderer, and in the May of 1420 caused the king to sign a treaty at Troyes. By this it was agreed that Charles should keep the crown of France for life, that Henry should govern the kingdom, marry his daughter Katharine, and succeed him as heir apparent. From that time England and France were to be separate kingdoms under one king. Henry now gave up his title of King of France, and took that of Heir and Regent of France. The dauphin and his Armagnac friends were declared traitors and outlaws with whom no peace could be made.

23. Deaths of Henry V. and Charles VI., 1422.—The Armagnacs were thus turned into the patriotic party, and, profiting by the old dislike between north and south, they retired into Auvergne, and became a rallying point. To their aid came various troops of Scottish adventurers, who hated the English for having kept their king a prisoner from his childhood. While Henry V. was absent in England, his brother, the *Duke of Clarence*, on a plundering expedition in Anjou, was cut off at *Bangé* by a band of the Scots and French in 1421. This brought Henry back to France, where he ruled with sternness indeed, but with rigour and justice unknown since the days of St. Lewis. Meaux was in the hands of a horrible freebooter, who robbed and murdered all travellers to Paris. Henry spent the winter in besieging

the place, with fatal injury to his own health, so that in the summer of 1422 he died at Vincennes. He had been kinder to the poor madman king Charles VI. than ever wife or children had been ; and at the tidings of his death the worn-out old man hid his face from the light, and never ceased weeping and wailing for his "good son Henry" till he died, a few weeks later, after one of the most miserable reigns France had known.

24. *Regency of Bedford, 1422.*—As Henry died before Charles, he never became king of France under the Treaty of Troyes. His infant son Henry VI. succeeded his grandfather in France and his father in England. By a strange chance, Charles and Henry were buried on the same day ; and over two open graves, at St. Denys and at Westminster, the young Henry was proclaimed king of his two kingdoms. His uncle, John Duke of Bedford, was Regent of France, and followed the policy of his brother ; Henry's other uncle, the dauphin Charles, was indeed proclaimed king wherever the Armagnacs prevailed, but by the whole Burgundian party and the city of Paris he was reviewed as a proscribed traitor and murderer. He was called in mockery *King of Bourges*. Paris and Rouen, with the whole north and west, save a few scattered towns and castles, acknowledged Henry. The war was chiefly carried on in Anjou, where the chief supporters of Charles were Gascons and Scots, with knights from all quarters who hated the English and clung to the direct line, all under the command of *John Stewart, earl of Buchan*, who had been made Constable of France. With Henry's death the mercy and good discipline he had enforced came to an end ; the war had as usual demoralized the soldiery, and great ferocity prevailed on both sides.

25. *Jacqueline of Hainault, 1423.*—Jacqueline, the widow of the second of the short-lived dauphins, was heiress of the four counties of Holland, Zealand, Hainault, and Friesland. On the death of the dauphin she had been married to the *Duke of Brabant*, like herself, child to a sister of the Duke of Burgundy. Both were rude and coarse ; they quarrelled violently, and Jacqueline declared her marriage void, and fled to the protection of Henry V. After Henry's death, his youngest brother, *Humfrey, duke of Gloucester*, wedded her, and began a war with the Duke of Brabant. The pope, Martin IV., maintained the first marriage, and, as the Duke of

Burgundy supported his nephew, Humfrey gave up the struggle, and took another wife. Jacqueline, left to her fate, let her claims be bought off by pension from the Duke of Burgundy. Namur was also purchased by him from the last count in 1428, and the line of Brabant became extinct in 1430; so that the house of Burgundy possessed the greater number of the principalities of the Low Countries. Most of these were fiefs of the Empire, while Flanders and Artois were fiefs of France, altogether the most wealthy inheritance in Europe. Indeed Philip was the chief power at that period, his weak point being that his duchy and county of Burgundy were divided from his possessions in the Netherlands by the duchy of Lorraine. To unite these two great groups became thenceforth the great object of the dukes of Burgundy, who hoped to form a middle kingdom like the old kingdom of Lotharingia.

26. **The Constable of Richmond, 1425.**—At *Verneuil* the Constable Buchan was slain, and the Scots totally defeated. Many of them still came to fight in the French army, and were formed into a special body-guard of the king as the archers of the Scottish guard. The constable's sword was given to *Arthur, count of Richemont*, brother of the Duke of Brittany, and husband of a sister of the Duke of Burgundy, one of the captives taken at Agincourt. He was a stern, harsh, and overbearing man, who forced on the king the truth that he could not prevail until he parted with the murderers of John the Fearless. Duchâtel had patriotism enough to allow himself to be bought off with the seneschalship of Beaucaire, and to carry off the rest of his party. Richemont then took the mastery, allowing the king a favourite with whom to amuse himself at Bourges, while he, with the *Count of Dunois*, an illegitimate son of the murdered Duke of Orleans, made head against the English. Two of these favourites no sooner showed themselves disposed to interfere with the constable's power than they were put to death; but the third, *Lewis de la Tremouille*, shut the constable out of Bourges, and forced him to Brittany. Meanwhile Charles lived an idle, careless life, heedless whether his kingdom were lost or won.

27. **The Maid of Orleans, 1429.**—It seemed to the English a fit time for pushing beyond the Loire, and they began by besieging Orleans. The national spirit was roused, and Dunois with all the best captains hurried

to the defence. A fight which took place at *Bouvray* was called the Battle of the Herrings, because the immediate cause was a supply of salt-fish sent to the English army, which the French in vain tried to capture. The city held out with a valour which interested all except the rival kings, one a child at Windsor, the other a loiterer at Bourges. Above all was excited the spirit of a peasant girl at *Domremy*, on the borders of Champagne, Bar, and Lorraine, named *Joan Darc*, who, while keeping her sheep, had visions, in which the saints Margaret and Katharine bade her go forth to free the army from its crimes, to save the city of Orleans, and lead the king to be anointed at Rheims. After being treated as mad by her kindred, she prevailed on the governor of Vancouleurs to send her to Charles at Chinon. She was closely examined by clergy and ladies, and her simplicity and earnestness so convinced them that she was allowed to do what she would. She never was anything but a peasant girl, simple, devout, and full of faith in her mission, and her power over the soldiers was unbounded. But the nobles, except Dunois, seem to have only used her as a tool, and disliked and scorned her, while the English and Burgundians believed her a witch, and were in great terror of her spells. She threw herself into Orleans, and led several sallies without ever herself shedding blood, but always causing a panic among the enemy, so that the siege was raised, and her easy victory at *Patay* opened the way to Rheims. With great difficulty Joan roused Charles enough to let himself be conducted thither; all the nobles of the national party joined him except the constable, whose presence he would not permit, and at the head of 12,000 men he entered the city. He was crowned on the 17th of July, 1429, Joan standing by with her banner in her hand. She then said her work was done, and begged to return to her village home; but she was thought too useful to be parted with. She was kept with the army, but, her spring of hope and trust being gone, her enthusiasm failed her, and she no longer ensured success. When the Burgundian *John of Luxemburg* attacked Compiègne, she was left to defend it; but her stern reproofs of vice and foul language offended the captains, and when returning from a sally, she was shut outside the gates and made prisoner. The General of the Inquisition and the doctors of the University of Paris were Burgundians, and claimed to have

her yielded to them. She was taken to Rouen, and there kept chained in an iron cage till she was tried by a tribunal of fifty doctors of theology, presided over by *John Cauchon, Bishop of Beauvais*, a partisan of the English, who had just been driven out of his diocese. All her simple truth, lofty piety, and blameless innocence failed to persuade her judges that her might did not come of evil. One strong presumption against her was her wearing male attire; but she pleaded, not only that it guarded her from insolence, but that the voices which had called her had bidden her put it on. She was found guilty of heresy, because, when she appealed to our Lord and His Church, she was supposed to mean that she did not submit to the Church on earth. Not a letter was written, not an offer was made, on her behalf from the king whom she had crowned, and by whom she had been cast aside like a blunted tool. The choice was given her of death by fire or of abjuring her heresy, and in deadly terror she consented to own all that was put in her mouth. She was then clad in woman's dress and sent back to prison to the keeping of the rudest, coarsest men at arms. There was much discontent, for the soldiers fancied they should never prosper till the witch was burned; but Cauchon whispered, "We know where to have her." While the Duke of Bedford was absent from Rouen, the judges were summoned to see Joan again in male apparel. Her guards had taken away her own clothes, had thrown these at her, and stood mocking her despair. There was no pity for her, and she was burned in the market-place at Rouen. The last cry heard from the fire was, "My voices have not deceived me," and then the name of her Saviour.

28. The War in Lorraine, 1432.—The Burgundians had been foremost in compassing her death, but they were slack in the English cause, being engaged in a war of succession in Lorraine. Philip supported *Antony, count of Vaudemont*, the last Duke's brother, against his daughter *Isabel*, wife of *René*, second son of Lewis, duke of Anjou, who had been accepted by the states of Lorraine. In a great battle at *Bullégneville*, in 1431, René was defeated and made prisoner. His wife went to seek the aid of Charles VII., who had married his sister *Mary*. To one of the ladies in her train, *Agnes Sorel*, French tradition has always ascribed the awakening of the spirit of Charles; and there is no doubt that the queen herself persuaded Isabel to leave her at court as a counter-influence

to La Tremouille. Philip of Burgundy signed a truce with Charles for two years, and as this put an end to all hope of taking young Henry to Rheims, he was crowned at Paris on the 17th of December, 1431, by his great uncle, *Cardinal Beaufort*. But the Parisians showed only discontent, being afraid that under English rule their city would be reduced to a mere provincial town. *Anne of Burgundy*, Bedford's good duchess, who had been much loved there, and had been a bond of union between her brother and husband, died in 1432; and Bedford, by marrying *Jacquetta of Luxemburg*, a vassal of Burgundy, further affronted Duke Philip. The Duke now began to draw nearer to the French interest: he released René of Anjou, and gave Lorraine back to him on condition of a future marriage between his daughter *Yolande* and *Ferdinand*, son of the Count of Vaudemont. Meanwhile, *Charles, count of Maine*, René's youngest brother, together with the queen and Agnes Sorel, had reconciled themselves to the constable, and obtained of him some Bretons to kidnap La Tremouille, and carry him away from court, while the Count of Maine took the management of the king.

29. The Congress of Arras, 1435.—The war had become a weariness. Bedford's health was failing, and a great congress was held at Arras. The Dukes of Orleans and Bourbon, who had been captives in England ever since Azincour, were to come to it, but Bourbon died on the way. His son and the constable met Philip of Burgundy beforehand and agreed on terms. The Congress was attended by envoys from the pope and the emperor, and was exceedingly splendid, Philip playing the part of host with his wonted magnificence. After many discussions, during which no terms could be agreed on between England and France, Duke Philip made a separate treaty with France. Auxerre and Macon were ceded to him, with Amiens, Abbeville, and the other towns on the Somme, with a promise that France might buy these last back. Philip was also released, but for life only, from all homage for the fiefs which he held of the French crown. This change of sides on the part of Burgundy made the English cause hopeless, and in September, 1435, it was still further weakened by the death of the great regent, Duke John of Bedford. War followed between England and Burgundy, and Humfrey duke of Gloucester, added the insult of causing his nephew Henry, as king of France, to grant him the county of Flanders, a possession of Duke Philip.

30. Recovery of Paris, 1436.—The loss of the Burgundian alliance carried with it the loss of Paris. Lisle Adam, who had before brought the Burgundians in, now admitted the royal forces, and the citizens rose in their favour. The English governor shut himself up in the Bastille, and was allowed to march out with the honours of war. France thus recovered her capital, and King Charles was persuaded to come to the city, where he was received with a show of welcome. But the city was in a piteous state. The constable was far more harsh than the English had been, for he had no subsistence for his garrison but what could be wrung from the burghers, and, as the English held Pontoise, and cut off all supplies, the famine was dreadful. The constable himself was fairly starved out, and was forced to leave the place to the guard of the burghers.

31. The Pragmatic Sanction, 1438.—The General Council of Basel was sitting at this time. In 1438 Charles VII. convoked a national synod at Bourges, which accepted the decrees of the Council, and drew up a *Pragmatic Sanction*, which denied to Rome the Annates, forbade appeals to the pope, and restored appointments to benefices to their own patrons and electors.

32. The Ordinance of Orleans, 1439.—As after the wars with Edward III., France was in misery from the lawless Free Lances, so at the close of the war with Henry VI. she was suffering from the soldiery, who were wont to hire themselves from either party, and in the meantime lived by rapine and plunder. Things were worse than ever, when a new spirit seemed to come on him. Borrowing the means from a great merchant of Bourges, *Jacques Cœur*, he equipped a band of troops to reinforce the constable, thus enabling him to take Meaux and open one road for the supply of Paris. Then, as the *Ecorcheurs* or flayers, as the lawless men at arms were called, were the real masters of the country, and chief causes of the distress, he convoked the States General at Orleans in 1439 to consider how to put an end to their atrocities. The constable *De Richemont* represented that an army without pay must needs live by plunder, and it was therefore enacted that a tax should be levied for the maintenance of 9,000 soldiers. The amount for each troop was to be given to the captain, who was answerable for their behaviour to the crown, and had power of them for life or death. A great step was hereby taken towards

the state of things which we see in modern times. Here was the first beginning of standing armies and of regular taxation, the two great forces of modern governments. The power of the crown was further strengthened by giving it an army which was always at its command, quite apart from the feudal force, which was only called out for a limited time on special occasions. The instinct of the nobility of course went dead against the new regulations.

33. The Praguerie, 1440.—Bourbon, Alençon, and Dunois took offence on the notion of subjecting warriors and gentlemen to law and depriving them of their plunder, declaring that nobody would fight on such terms, and that the country would be left open to the English. They even took arms at the head of all the wild *Ecorcheurs*, and wasted the country after the fashion of the Hussite rebels at Prague, whence this war was called the *Praguerie*. La Tremouille joined them, as did the dauphin *Lewis*, a youth of seventeen. The Duke of Burgundy refused, saying their rising was all that was wanting to complete the ruin of France; and the king and constable took the field, and pressed them so hard that the dauphin and the nobles made peace by ones and twos, and the desperate remnant of *Ecorcheurs* were overpowered in detail.

34. Truce with England, 1444.—Charles then besieged Pontoise, and, though twice forced by Lord Talbot to retreat, finally took the place, much to the relief of Paris. As the peace party under Cardinal Beaufort was now in the ascendant in England, a truce of two years was concluded in 1444. Shortly after the *Earl of Suffolk* arranged Henry's marriage with *Margaret of Anjou*, daughter of René, the queen's brother. He was the grandson of Lewis of Anjou, the son of King John, who had been adopted by Queen Joan of Naples. He and his descendants therefore called themselves Kings of Sicily and Jerusalem, and often tried to establish themselves at Naples. But the only part of Joan's inheritance which they really kept was the county of Provence. René also claimed the Duchy of Lorraine through his wife; his French appanages of Anjou and Maine were in the hands of the English. These Suffolk restored as the price of the marriage, so that England kept only what was still left of the conquests of Henry V. in Normandy and of the old possessions in the south. The cities of *Metz*, *Verdun*, and *Toul*, which were surrounded by the duchy of Lorraine, were claimed by René, and Charles helped him in an

attempt to annex them. This marks the beginning of French aggression on the empire on the side of Lorraine, as we have already seen it on the side of the kingdom of Burgundy. René took Verdun, but failed before Metz, and the cities remained free on the payment of money. At the same time the *Emperor Frederick III.* asked the help of Charles in a war against the Confederate cantons, which were now beginning to be called *Swiss*. The king consented to the troops going on this expedition, provided Frederick would pay them ; and the dauphin, who was in a restless, discontented state, became their leader. The demoralized crew met the sturdy patriotic mountaineers, at St. Jacob near Basel, where the small body of Confederates were overcome by mere force of numbers. Lewis then not only made peace on his own account, but obtained the promise of the Swiss to support him whenever he should need them. Then, as no pay came from the emperor, he ravaged Elsass, and ended by turning the remnant of his freebooters loose into Germany. He had thus fulfilled his father's avowed object of draining the blood of the army, so as to be able really to carry out the Ordinances of Orleans. The dauphin however returned sullen and bitter. He quarrelled with all his father's servants, and was even accused of tampering with the Scottish guard to have the king seized and imprisoned. On this he retired to his own Dauphiny, which he ruled with much skill and prudence.

35. The Second Conquest of Normandy, 1450.—The war with England began again by a quarrel about the yielding up of Maine, according to Henry's marriage treaty. Charles besieged Rouen, and the inhabitants rose in his favour, forcing the *Duke of Somerset* to surrender, departing with all his troops on condition of giving up most of the Norman fortresses still in the possession of King Henry. A vain attempt of the English to recover the duchy only led to their rout at Formigni. Caen, Falaise, and Cherbourg, the last points held, were taken ; and by the summer of 1450 all Normandy was again in French hands. The duchy which had been cut off from France in the tenth century, which had been conquered by France in the thirteenth, and won back again by the descendant of its dukes, was now, after thirty-one years' separation, for ever annexed to the French crown. It was a most valuable possession, supplying a third part of the revenue of the kingdom. But local feeling was

so strong that the Normans still wished to have a duke of their own, and the duchy was often granted as an appanage to a son or a brother of the reigning king.

36. French Conquest of Aquitaine, 1451—1453.—Next Charles proceeded to attack the cities which were left to Henry in Aquitaine. Many of the Aquitanian nobles had become partisans of France, but the cities, especially *Bordeaux*, were much attached to their ancient princes. But Henry VI. was helpless in the hands of factions, and could do nothing to save them. In 1451 the whole land was conquered, Bordeaux being the last place to fall. But the French rule was unpopular, and when in 1453, the aged Talbot Earl of Shrewsbury brought an army from England, he was welcomed as a deliverer, and the French were driven out. Charles brought all his force to win back what he lost, and besieged Castillon on the Dordogne. Talbot came to relieve it; but while attacking their camp, he was set upon by another army led by the Count of Penthievre. The English presented an undaunted face to the enemy, but Talbot, at eighty years old, fighting nobly, was slain on the bridge of Castillon; his son died in trying to save him. Bordeaux and Bayonne were now left without defence; the whole land was again conquered by France, and Bordeaux lost the great privileges which it had enjoyed under its own dukes. The great object at which the French kings had been so long striving was now accomplished, namely the union of Northern and Southern Gaul by the annexation of Aquitaine to France. It had been twice done for a moment, when Lewis VII. married Eleanor, and when Philip the Fair occupied the land. It was now done for ever. France now stretched along the whole line of the Pyrenees, except where the kings of Navarre held a small part to the north of them, and where the kings of Aragon still held Roussillon. The people of the *langue-d'oc* had been brought into subjection to the people of the *langue-d'oïl* through all the lands holding of the French crown; Lyons and the Dauphiny had been severed from the Empire, and Provence was held by a French prince. France had still much to add to reach its present extent; but the French kingdom in the modern sense may be said to have fully come into being by the conquest of Aquitaine. Thus ended the hundred years' war. All the brilliant victories had been on the English side; the French had only

prevailed by steady perseverance, which held on till their enemies gave way, partly from exhaustion, partly from factions at home.

37. Fall of Jacques Cœur, 1451.—Charles has been well named the “Well Served,” for he had been placed on his father’s throne and made master of his kingdom almost in spite of himself. The prime movers in his late undertakings had been Agnes Sorel and Jacques Cœur. When Agnes died, he fell under the influence of the *Count of Dammartin*, a favourite of the old stamp, who was determined to keep the king in his own hands, and began by persuading him that Jacques Cœur had poisoned Agnes. His innocence was shown, but other monstrous charges of extortion and maladministration were trumped up, and he was shut up in a convent, whence he escaped to Rome. He was honourably received there, and died at *Chios* on his way to fight against the Turks. Dammartin then attacked the chief nobles. The Count of Armagnac deservedly, and the Dukes of Bourbon and Alençon most undeservedly, were accused of treason; and the dauphin, taking alarm, began to arm the men of the Viennois. Dammartin took measures that so alarmed him that, in 1456, he galloped away from a hunting party, and put himself under the protection of Philip of Burgundy, who welcomed him kindly at Brussels. “My cousin of Burgundy is nursing the fox who will eat up his hens,” said the king. At the same time the great constable, *Arthur of Richemont*, became Duke of Brittany, in consequence of a great mortality in his brother’s family. But he only reigned sixteen months; and as he died childless in 1458, the duchy went to *Francis II.*, a descendant of the first of the Montfort dukes. In his latter days, Charles would seem to have had some touches of his father’s insanity, and, when an abscess in the mouth made eating painful, he fancied that his eldest son had sent him poison, and refused food till his throat lost the power of swallowing. He died on the 22nd of July, 1461, leaving two sons, *Lewis XI.* and *Charles, duke of Berri*. He was the most ungrateful king who ever was well served, and a conqueror almost against his will, though in the crisis he awoke from his indolence enough to secure to the crown all the advantage of the national success.

38. Lewis XI., 1461.—His son thus had far more power than any king of the house of Paris had yet

enjoyed. The Ordinance of Orleans had given him an army, the conquered provinces owned no prince save himself. Of the princes of the blood, his brother, the Duke of Berri, was a mere lad; Duke Charles of Orleans was a man of gentle, poetical temper, aged, and worn out by long captivity; King René of Anjou had spent his strength in vain attempts on Naples and Catalonia. He was besides of a romantic turn, which made him the most honourable and loyal, as well as the most simple of men. The Duke of Burgundy, Philip the Good, was growing old, but his son, *Charles the Bold, count of Charolois*, showed signs of a still greater grasp of ambition, and of a sterner and more resolute character. They were by far the most formidable neighbours of France, uniting the duchy and county of Burgundy with the wealthy states of the Netherlands. They thus commanded some of the richest cities and bravest chivalry in existence. Holding the middle line between France and the Empire, the Dukes of Burgundy, though every inch of their dominions was held either of the Emperor or of the French King, were in real power the equal of either of their lords. The only remaining great feudatory was the weak and dull Francis II., duke of Brittany. The new king himself had inherited more than all the cunning of Charles V., with the ironical temper and hard heart of Charles VII. His object was to play off the one power against another, so as to triumph over all. He had no love for princes or nobles, and gave his confidence to men of a lower class, among whom were memorable his barber, *Oliver le Mauvais* or *le Daim*, and his provost-marshal, *Tristan l'Hermite*.

39. The League of the Public Weal, 1464.—Lewis's first desire seemed to be to undo his father's measures; so he imprisoned Dammartin, and released Alençon and Armagnac, making the brother of the latter *Duke of Nemours*. Lewis had a great deal of a certain kind of piety, a kind which was not at all connected with truth, mercy, or justice, but which made him scrupulous in religious observances. One of his first acts was an attempt to repeal the Pragmatic Sanction, by which he saw that the clergy and nobles gained more than the king. He knew the power of wealth, and hated display and splendour, so that he always had large sums at command. He was therefore able to buy back the towns on the

Somme from Burgundy. But the lack of pomp was a grievance to the nobles, and an edict forbidding them to hunt in the royal forests filled them with wrath. They had an instinct that the crown was ruining them, and in 1464 they formed a band called the League of the Public Weal, which made great professions of reform. The king's brother, the Duke of Berri, was the nominal head, and it included the Dukes of Brittany, Bourbon, and Nemours, the two heirs of Duke Philip and King René, Charles Count of Charolois and John Duke of Calabria, with Dunois and other great captains. There were in all five hundred nobles, with sixty thousand men under them, who all marched towards Paris from different sides. The king had only his small paid army. Their army and that of Lewis came on each other unexpectedly at *Montl'hery*, and there was a general medley, out of which the Burgundians came victorious. Paris was then besieged. Charles advanced, trusting to the old love of Paris for Burgundy, and there really was a party in his interest. But the king won the citizens by remission of taxes and other advantages, and flattered them by trusting to them his queen, Charlotte of Savoy. Paris therefore held out, and Lewis entered it, but he found it expedient to sign the *Treaty of Conflans*, which seemingly granted to the League all that it asked. The price to his brother was the duchy of Normandy; that to Charles of Charolois was the county of Boulogne and some of the towns on the Somme, and the Count of St. Pol of the house of Luxemburg, whose lands lay between the French and Burgundian possessions, was made constable. Thus the League fell to pieces; every man got something for himself, but of the schemes of reform nothing more was heard. The Duke of Berri had no sooner taken possession of Normandy than he quarrelled with the Duke of Brittany, and the uproar that ensued gave Lewis an excuse for resuming Normandy by authority of the States General, while the Duke fled to Brittany, thinking himself safer there than with his brother.

40. The Ruin of Dinant, 1466.—Burgundy was too strong for open attack, but it was easy to raise up enemies against the duke who was grasping at all the small fiefs and cities which joined or intersected his dominions. One of these states was the bishopric of *Lüttich* or *Liège*, a fief of the Empire. Six years before Philip's interference had obtained the election of his nephew *Lewis of Bourbon*

to the bishopric, a lad of eighteen, who spent his time and wealth in dissipation. The men of Liége drove him out, and set up a commonwealth, formed an alliance with their neighbours at Dinant, and, trusting to French protection, attacked the Burgundian territories. But Lewis gave them no help, and Charles of Charolois marched against them. Liége made what was called the "Piteous Peace," with Duke and Bishop. Dinant was given up to the most utter destruction; the city was burned, the men were slain, and the women and children tied in pairs and driven out stripped of everything. This dreadful deed was the last public act of the reign of Philip the Good, who died in 1467, after having built up a mighty power out of small fragments, chiefly by his brilliant court, open hand, and popular manners.

41. *The Meeting at Péronne, 1468.*—The only son of Duke Philip, Charles the Bold, who now succeeded him, was, in some points, a man of higher qualities than his father, but less skilful in the art of managing men. He was strict in his own life, just in his home government, but cold and stern, harsh in his military discipline, and full of ambitious schemes. He had been on terms of friendship with the king while the latter had been in exile; but there was distrust beneath, and he continued in alliance with the Dukes of Berri and Brittany. With the object of detaching him from them, Lewis desired to have a meeting with him at his city of Péronne, where Charles then was with his whole splendid army, among whom, with a very small escort and short notice, Lewis arrived, trusting to his own adroitness and the simplicity of Charles; but at that very time Liége suddenly broke out into a violent revolt, seized the bishop, killed some of his canons, and defied the duke. There was no doubt that this was the secret work of Lewis, though he had reckoned on the outbreak not taking place till he was out of the clutches of Burgundy. He had outwitted himself. Charles was frightfully enraged, and, though he had given the king a safe-conduct, he could not resolve on foregoing the advantages of having such an enemy in his hands. After keeping him for some days a prisoner in his lodgings, he brought him a treaty, to which he was forced to swear, binding him to aid Charles in subduing Liége, to sanction his alliance with England, to give Champagne and Brie to the Duke of Berri, give up all the cities in dispute, and to exempt the courts of Flanders from any right of appeal

to the Parliament of Paris. So Lewis had to go, almost in the duke's train, to Liége to put down the revolt which he himself had provoked, a humiliation which he bitterly felt, though he dissembled his vexation. Liége was taken, though not till after a hard fight, and sacked and ruined as savagely as Dinant had been ; after which the king returned, burning to revenge himself. He began to contrive how to elude fulfilling the terms that had been wrested from him, and threw into his dungeon at *Loches* the Duke of Alençon and *Cardinal Balue*, on whom he laid the blame of his misadventure.

42. **Plans of Charles the Bold.**—Charles the Bold was full of restless schemes of ambition. His chief desire was to join together the two separate portions of his dominions, the Burgundies and the Low Countries, and thus to form a middle kingdom between France and Germany, like the old kingdoms of Lotharingia and Burgundy. He had only one child, his daughter Mary, by his first wife, Isabel of Bourbon ; his second marriage with Margaret, sister of Edward IV. of England, was childless. He was loth to give himself a son-in-law, but he used Mary as a bribe to each prince with whom he wanted to ally himself. First he offered her to the Duke of Berri, for whom at Péronne he had demanded Brie and Champagne, lands adjoining his own. Lewis XI. however beguiled the youth from his shelter in Brittany, promised him the dukedom of Guienne instead of Champagne, and brought him to court. There he died suspiciously, soon after the birth of a dauphin had made him no longer heir to the crown. Next, Mary was offered to Maximilian of Austria, the son of the Emperor Frederick III. Charles hoped to obtain investiture as a king from the emperor, and came to meet him at Trier with a crown and sceptre for the purpose. But either Frederick was not paid highly enough, or he found that the German princes would be offended, for he embarked in the night, and sailed away secretly, leaving the duke in anger and disappointment. Still Charles pursued his plans on the two countries that divided his domains. The House of Austria held various towns and districts in Elsass, which, in the various divisions of the Austrian possessions, were held by Sigismund, Count of Tyrol, who, according to German usage, bore the title of Duke of Austria. He mortgaged his Alsatian dominions to Charles for a heavy loan. Charles was likewise in treaty to pension off old King René, and obtain from

him Lorraine and Provence. But these, having come to René through females, were the clear right of his only heir, René of Vaudemont, son of his daughter Yolande and of Antony, heir of Lorraine, in the male line. Most unjustly therefore Charles not only seized Lorraine, but imprisoned young René, until forced by Lewis XI. to release him.

43. *Invasion of Edward IV., 1474.*—So vast and reckless was Charles's ambition that he formed a scheme with Edward IV. of England for such a division of France as had been planned by his father and Henry V. Everyone watched him with alarm, and his stern fierce justice was hated, especially in the lately obtained lands. In Elsass, his bailiff, *Peter of Hagenbach*, a rough, harsh, violent man, was greatly hated for his manner of exacting toll. In a sudden rising of the people of Breisach, assisted by the Swiss, he was seized, tried, and put to death. The men of Elsass taxed themselves to pay the loan and return to Sigismund. Charles was greatly angered, and as the city of *Neuss*, which belonged to the Archbishop of Köln, had revolted and joined the league of Elsass, he took up arms expecting to reduce it easily. It held out for eleven months, and while he was still detained before it Edward IV. had landed at Calais with a magnificent army. Lewis advanced with all his force, but not to fight, only to send messages, to render Edward distrustful of the absence of the Duke of Burgundy, and at last to induce him to withdraw. His daughter *Elizabeth* was betrothed to the dauphin, and large pensions were promised to Edward and his courtiers. The two kings sealed their friendship by a meeting on the bridge of *Picquigny* on the Somme, where they kissed one another through a wooden barrier for fear of treachery, and Lewis could hardly restrain his contempt for the mighty warrior he had so easily cajoled. Angered, and feeling himself deserted, Charles was forced to make a truce, and yield to his vengeance the Constable of St. Pol, who from his little town of St. Quintin was playing the king and duke off one against the other, and making both distrust him. His city was taken, and he himself tried before the Parliament of Paris, and executed in the December of 1475.

44. *Fall of Charles the Bold, 1477.*—Lewis had many schemes at work against Charles. He still upheld young René of Lorraine, and by his influence with the leading men of Bern he gradually contrived to involve the whole of the Confederate cantons in the war. Charles' chief re-

maining ally was Savoy, through its duchess, the sister of Lewis, who was regent for her young son Philibert. The war never reached the Confederate territory, but began within the Savoyard dominions, which then, it must be remembered, stretched far to the north of the Lake of Geneva. The castle of *Granson* on the Lake of Neuchâtel was held by a Confederate garrison; it was surprised by James of Savoy, uncle of the young duke, and the whole garrison of eight hundred men, on being brought before Charles, were hanged in hopes of striking fear into their countrymen. It did but enrage the whole body of the Confederates, and in the battle of *Granson* which followed in March 1476, the splendid chivalry of Burgundy and the Low Countries was utterly broken and routed. In the following year Charles suffered another defeat from the Confederates at *Morat* or *Murten*. He there in his rage imprisoned the Duchess of Savoy, lest she should go over to France. But she and her son were so ill guarded that they were easily carried off to France, on which Savoy joined his enemies. Duke René was now received in his own capital at *Nancy*, and Charles a third time raised an army to besiege the city. René left Nancy to defend itself, while he sought reinforcements among the Confederates and elsewhere in Germany; and returning with them early in the morning of the 6th of January, 1477, he made an attack on the camp, broke up and dispersed the whole of the Burgundian army, and entered Nancy in triumph. For three days no one knew what had become of Charles the Bold, till at last a corpse was found lying in a pool of half-frozen water, stripped, and only identified by its old scars. So piteous was the fate of the mighty Duke, that when young René, the man he had most unjustly injured, beheld the body, he said, with tears in his eyes, "Fair cousin, God receive thy soul; thou hast done us many wrongs and griefs." The shattered helmet was sent to Lewis at his castle of *Plessis les Tours*. He at once claimed all that Charles held of the French crown as returning to the crown for the lack of male heirs. He knew indeed that he could only make good his claim to a part but he hoped to frighten the helpless girl, Mary of Burgundy, into a marriage with his infant son Charles.

45. Mary of Burgundy, 1477.—Lewis now seized on both the duchy and the county of Burgundy. To the county, as a fief of the empire, he had no claim whatever. The duchy he claimed on the plea that it had been granted to the first

Duke Philip as an appanage, and not as a fief which would pass in the female line. Flanders and Artois went in the female line. Lewis tried to treat with the states, and likewise with Mary's advisers, the *Lord of Humbercourt* and the *Chancellor Huguenon*; and the Flemings, discovering that these two had a separate correspondence with him, declared them traitors, and beheaded them in the market-place of Ghent, in the very sight of their lady. The act was scarcely done before Lewis's barber, *Oliver le Daim*, came to offer his son's hand to Mary. She deemed herself insulted and refused; therefore Lewis laid waste her lands with all the horrors of war, routed the remnant of her father's army, and overthrew all attempts at defence. In despair, Mary sent a ring to her former suitor, Maximilian of Austria, who hurried to Ghent, and, with the full consent of the states of Flanders, was married to her eight months after her father's death. He so ably defended her cause that Lewis was forced to make a truce, which was renewed again and again, till, in 1482, Mary was killed by a fall from her horse, leaving two infants, *Philip* and *Margaret*. A peace was now concluded at Arras, by which Margaret was betrothed to the Dauphin and placed in the keeping of Lewis. She was to bring as her dower the counties of Artois and Burgundy with some smaller lordships. Lewis thus for a while was able to incorporate with France a considerable state of the empire, in the shape of the county of Burgundy. This however was only for a season, but he was presently able to incorporate a still more important state of the empire for ever.

46. *Annexation of Provence.*—Meantime Lewis grew more suspicious, as his cold sneering manner, greed of land and money, evident delight in tormenting, and systematic depression of the nobles made him more and more hated as well as feared. He shut himself up in his castle of Plessis les Tours, which was closely fortified and guarded by the Scottish archers, and kept all his nobles aloof. The Duke of Nemours, when tortured before he was put to death for his many treasons in 1477, had named so many accomplices that Lewis distrusted almost all his great nobles. Above all the King was jealous of *Lewis, duke of Orleans*, son of him who had been made prisoner at Agincourt, and next heir to the throne after the sickly dauphin. Lewis had forced him to marry his second daughter, *Joan*, a pale, deformed girl, whom father and

husband treated with equal scorn. His elder daughter *Anne* was married to Peter, Lord of Beaujeu, second son of the Duke of Bourbon and was more beloved by him than any one else. Old King René died in 1480, leaving Anjou, Provence, and his claim to Naples to his nephew Charles, Count of Maine, and only Bar to his grandson René of Lorraine, who claimed the whole inheritance of his grandfather. Lewis however at once took possession of Bar, and Charles, who died in 1481, left all his possessions to the king. Provence was at once occupied, but it was not formally annexed till 1486, and from that time till the French Revolution it remained a separate state, held by the King of France as Count of Provence, which title was always used in acts done within the county. Another great fief of the Empire was thus added to France, and the French sea-board on the Mediterranean was greatly increased, taking in the great haven of Marseilles. France also greatly increased her frontier towards Italy. Lewis had thus completed what his father had begun, and had the greater part of what we now call France at his feet, the nobles cowering under his iron grasp, and Brittany being the only great feudal power remaining. He had done much for trade and commerce. He had encouraged the opening of mines and breeding of silk-worms; he had permitted the nobles and clergy to trade, and made himself the head of all the guilds at Paris. He had also encouraged the University, and especially the newly-introduced study of Greek. He had created three parliaments or high courts of justice like the Parliament of Paris, at Grenoble, Bourdeaux, and Dijon; and he arranged a new municipal code, which lessened the power of individual cities and made them more dependent on the crown. His great admirer, *Philip de Comines*, who was fairly fascinated by his craft and subtlety, and left the service of Charles of Burgundy for his, says that he was the prince of his time of whom the most good and the least ill can be said. Philip measured only by the successes of Lewis, and made no account of broken oaths, cruel, treacherous executions, and arbitrary imprisonments in the dungeons and iron cages at Loches. As he grew older Lewis became more distrustful. Even his little son, a mere child, was kept aloof as dangerous, and allowed to see no one but by special permission, and he himself saw no man of rank save his son-in-law

Peter of Beaujeu. As his health failed, he clung desperately to life, surrounding himself with astrologers, and all who could seem concerned with fate. His religion had always been grossly superstitious, and almost fetish-worship of different images of our Lady. He made vows, gifts, and pilgrimages for his recovery, even forcing the Pope to send him a poor, pious, peasant hermit, *Francis of Paula*, whom he received crawling on his knees ; but the Hermit only told him that kings must die, and that nothing could do him good but repentance, of which he never seems to have seen the need. He died on the 30th of August, 1483, recommending himself to "his good mistress, our Lady of Embrun."

Thus, step by step, the dominions of the French kings had been increased by the annexation of the territories of their own vassals, and their kingdom itself had been increased by large accessions from the Empire. France now stood incontestably among the greatest powers of Europe, and was now ready to use its forces in expeditions to more distant lands.

CHAPTER VI.

THE ITALIAN WARS.

1. Regency of Anne of Beaujeu, 1483. — Lewis XI. left an only son, *Charles VIII.*, only thirteen years of age, who was entrusted to the care of his eldest sister Anne, Lady of Beaujeu, a keen, clever woman of twenty-two, whom her father had instructed in all his plans. She could only act through her husband, and there was great jealousy on the part of her brother-in-law, Lewis, Duke of Orleans, who claimed the chief influence as first prince of the blood, though he was too idle and dissipated to attend to business. Anne had the support of René, Duke of Lorraine, and showed much of her father's skill, though not his cruelty. She dismissed his hated advisers, and released his captives, and made her government generally acceptable.

2. The Inheritance of Brittany, 1483.—*Francis II., Duke of Brittany*, had no son, and his daughter *Anne* was the mark for all suitors, while he and his favourite *Landais*, a tailor, strove to make capital of this rivalry. The Bretons, whose chief desire was that she should so marry as to secure their independence, made a great rising under *John of Chalons, Prince of Orange*, a nephew of the Duke, in which *Landais* was killed, and the feeble duke became a prisoner in their hands. He received, however, the Duke of Orleans and his cousin, *Francis de Dunois, Count of Longueville*, the son of that *Dunois* who had fought against the English. They had been discovered to be plotting against the Lady of Beaujeu, and had been forced to fly into Brittany, where the Duke of Orleans, who longed to break his forced marriage with the king's sister, won the heart of the little heiress *Anne*, who was only twelve years old. He was favoured by her father, but the Prince of Orange had chosen for her *Maximilian of Austria*, the widower of *Mary of Burgundy*, who in 1486 was chosen King of the Romans in the lifetime of his father. The states of Brittany preferred *Alan of Albret*, a Gascon noble of sixty, with twelve children, who was descended from the ducal family, and who, without being too powerful, was able to hold his own. All these rivals were united by the Lady of Beaujeu's evident intention of claiming Brittany for her brother as a male fief, and her sending an army into the duchy under *Lewis de la Tremouille*, who totally routed the Bretons at *St. Aubin de Cormieres* in 1488. *Albret* escaped, but the Prince of Orange was taken prisoner, and the Duke of Orleans dragged out from the slain and shut up in an iron cage at Bourges. Much of the noblest blood in Brittany was shed on the scaffold, and the country would have been laid waste if the young king had not insisted that fair terms should be offered to the poor old duke, whose death, in 1488, left his daughter *Duchess of Brittany*. She was no puppet, but had a strong will, set above all against old *Alan of Albret*, to whom half her subjects wanted to give her, while the other half were plotting to deliver her to the French. As the Duke of Orleans was a prisoner, she sent to entreat the King of the Romans to come to her rescue, and he set out with a troop of Germans. As he passed through Flanders, where his son *Philip* had succeeded his mother, he was seized by the people of

Bruges, and kept prisoner for ten months, while the French army was taking place after place in Brittany. The duchess fled from fortress to fortress, till after four years, Dunois, seeing that only her marriage could obtain freedom for his cousin of Orleans, persuaded the Lady of Beaujeu that the wisest course would be to marry her brother the king to the heiress of Brittany. Charles, it should be remembered, was already betrothed, or rather married, to Maximilian's daughter Margaret, who was living at the Court of France. Nevertheless Charles, now two-and-twenty, rode to the gates of Rennes with a few attendants, was admitted to the presence of the duchess Anne, and gained her consent. They were married a fortnight later, in December, 1491, and Margaret of Austria was sent back to her father. The great Celtic duchy was united to the crown, subject to the birth of children of Charles and Anne. Charles himself was a small, sickly, almost deformed man, whom his father had never educated, saying, "that to know how to dissimulate was to know how to reign," and that this was all that was needed by a king. But he had read the romances of chivalry, and gathered their teachings of courtesy and honour, so that Comines says he never knowingly gave pain to any living thing, and he was greatly loved for his gentle courtesy.

3. The Peace of Senlis, 1493.—Maximilian was naturally wroth at Charles's treatment of his daughter, and Henry the Seventh of England, as the ally of Maximilian, took up arms and besieged *Boulogne*, but was bought off. By the peace of Senlis in 1493 Maximilian was appeased by the restoration of Artois as a French fief, and of the imperial county of Burgundy. Roussillon and Cerdagna were also restored to Maximilian's other ally, Ferdinand of Aragon. Thus the Breton marriage cost France four counties. Charles now ventured to release his cousin of Orleans.

4. The Expedition to Italy, 1494.—To the crown of France had been bequeathed those claims to the kingdom of Naples which René of Anjou had been unable to make good. The present king of Naples was *Ferdinand*, an illegitimate son of Alfonso, king of Aragon, Sicily, and Naples. His father had left him the kingdom of Naples, while Aragon and Sicily passed to his brother John, who had been succeeded by another *Ferdinand*, famous as the *Catholic*. Charles was persuaded to

put forward his claim by *Ludovico Sforza*, uncle of *Galeazzo Sforza*, duke of Milan. Galeazzo was a weak imbecile, under the rule of his uncle Ludovico (called *il Moro*, some say from his mulberry badge), who kept him in a prolonged minority, to the great indignation of his wife, a daughter of Ferdinand of Naples. Ludovico, willing to occupy Ferdinand at home to prevent him taking his son-in-law's part, excited Charles to put forward the Angevin claim to Naples, offering a passage through Lombardy. The Duchess of Bourbon and the parliament were both averse to the scheme, but it fired Charles's romantic brain, and his nobles thirsted for war. He marched at the head of the finest army Europe could show, under the command of La Tremouille, to *Florence*, the free city where the *Medici* family had lately usurped the dominion. Though admitted peacefully, he rode in as a conqueror, with his lance in rest, to the great offence of the citizens. Galeazzo's death had made Ludovico Duke of Milan, though the Duke of Orleans laid claim to the duchy in right of his grandmother Valentina Visconti.

5. Coronation of Charles at Naples, 1495.—Rome was under *Alexander VI.*, whose name was a bye-word for shameless vice; he sent his illegitimate son *Cæsar Borgia* to Charles as legate. Ferdinand of Naples died just as Charles set out. His son *Alfonso*, who succeeded him, abdicated, and his son *Ferdinand*, who succeeded, presently fled to Ischia. On the 22nd of February, 1495, Charles was welcomed at Naples. There he was roused from a course of amusement by finding that all Lombardy behind him was in an uproar, stirred up by Ludovico il Moro in dismay at the claim of the Duke of Orleans. A league had been organized between Ludovico, the pope, the republic of Venice, Maximilian, King of the Romans, and the *Catholic kings*—that is, Isabel, Queen of Castile, and her husband, Ferdinand, King of Aragon and Sicily—to cut off the retreat of the French. Charles, leaving *Gilbert of Bourbon, Count of Montpensier*, to command in Naples, marched through the whole length of Italy, his troops plundering by the way, so as to make their name hateful. At *Fornovo*, on the banks of the Toro, he found the forces of Milan and Venice. "It must have been God who gave us the victory," says Comines, "considering how little sense or order we had;" but the king fought like a lion, and his troops were full of such fire that "the French fury" passed into a

proverb. This battle secured his return, and, as he took no heed to send succours to the troops he had left behind, Ferdinand of Naples speedily recovered his kingdom with the help of his kinsfolk Ferdinand and Isabel of Spain. Disease, famine, and skirmishes destroyed Montpensier's army, and only a small remnant survived to be sent home by the conqueror.

6. Death of Charles VIII., 1495.—Charles was meditating another campaign to retrieve his losses, when, on the 7th of April, 1498, on his way along a dark passage in the vaults of the castle of Amboise, he struck his head violently against the top of a doorway, fell backwards, and died the same night. He was only twenty-eight, and had scarcely outgrown his boyishness; but there were signs of good in him, and he was so much beloved that two of his attendants are said to have died of grief for him. His children had all died before him, and the next heir was Lewis, Duke of Orleans, in right of his descent from the second son of Charles V.

7. Marriage of Lewis XII. and Anne of Brittany, 1498.—The first measure of *Lewis XII.* was to rid himself of his patient, faithful wife, Joan of Valois. He purchased the consent of Alexander VI. by a huge sum of money, and the duchy of Valence or Valentinois for the Pope's son Cæsar Borgia, who had been Bishop of Valencia in Spain, but had given up the ecclesiastical calling. Joan submitted to retire into a convent, and Lewis at once married Anne of Brittany, thus preventing her duchy from being lost to the crown. She was a good and spirited woman, who kept her court far better regulated than was usual in France, but she never bore a son to Lewis XII., only two daughters. The heir to the throne was *Francis, Duke of Angoulême*, the son of the second son of Lewis I., Duke of Orleans.

8. The Conquest of Milan, 1499.—Lewis XII., on becoming king, showed qualities which no one had expected of him. He showed far more thought for the welfare of his subjects in general than was usual with French kings, and was known as the *Father of his People*. But in his dealings with foreign states he was as ambitious and cruel as any of them. At his coronation he took the titles of Duke of Milan and King of Sicily and Jerusalem, and made a treaty with Venice for the partition of the duchy of Milan, and with the Swiss for a supply of mercenary troops. Lewis crossed the Alps, and the people of Milan,

believing that the French king would spare them all taxes, opened their gates, though they soon found out their mistake, and recalled Ludovico Sforza. He raised a band of Swiss to fight for him, but, when in sight of the French camp at Novara, they mutinied for pay, and betrayed him to the enemy. He was taken to France and kept a close prisoner at Loches.

9. The War in Naples, 1501.—Ferdinand the Second of Naples died soon after his restoration to his kingdom. The present king was his uncle *Frederick*. Lewis now proposed that Ferdinand of Aragon and himself should divide the kingdom of Naples between them, and that they should seal their union by a marriage between Lewis's infant daughter *Claude* and *Charles* of Austria, the grandson of Ferdinand. The unfortunate Frederick was driven from his throne by the united forces of France and Spain, the first under *Lewis of Armagnac, Duke of Nemours*, the son of him whom Lewis XI. had put to death ; the second under *Gonzalvo de Cordova*, called the Great Captain, the ablest general then living. But quarrels soon arose between the two invading powers. The French held the north of the kingdom of Naples, and the Spaniards the south, but the *Capitanata* in the middle was debateable ground, where some of the castles were held by one nation and some by the other. Challenges and skirmishes were frequent, till in 1502 Lewis declared war unless the Spaniards should leave the *Capitanata* within twenty-four hours. He sent such reinforcements that Gonzalvo was forced to shut himself up in *Barletta*, where he remained patiently awaiting the certain effects of French rashness, and refused Nemours' challenges to battle until he was able to surprise *Ruvo*, and in it *La Palisse*, one of the bravest of the French captains, with large stores and 1000 horse. These enabled him to mount so many of his men that on the 5th of April, 1503, he sallied out and gained a great victory at *Cerignola*. The French, though full of graceful and punctilious honour and bravery to the Spanish and Italian gentlemen, had made themselves so detestable to the Neapolitans that their banners were torn down and they were driven out everywhere. Only Gaeta held out, and the French troops sent to relieve it were again defeated on the *Garigliano*, and for the second time the French were driven out of Southern Italy. The kings of Spain from this time kept both the kingdoms into which the kingdom of Sicily had been divided ; hence

the phrase of the *Two Sicilies*, which now begins to be used.

10. The League of Cambray, 1508.—A new pope was chosen in 1503, *Julius II.*, an old man, but full of fire. His first object was to recover Ravenna and other cities held by the Venetians which were claimed by the Holy See. To this end he formed a league with the King of the Romans, the King of France, and the King of Aragon and the Sicilies, all of whom claimed parts of the Venetian dominions, for the partition of the territories of Venice. Lewis XII. claimed the cities of Brescia, Crema, Bergamo, and Cremona, as having been formerly held by the Dukes of Milan. He entered Italy, gained the victory of *Aguadello*, and won his intended share of the territory in a single month. Then Pope Julius, having gained his own share, made peace with Venice, and began to form an union against France. Lewis, with the help of Maximilian and certain cardinals, then professed to summon a General Council of the Church at Pisa to act against the Pope. Then the Pope formed what he called the *Holy League* with Venice and the Catholic King, for the purpose of driving out the French. This was afterwards joined by Henry the Eighth of England, who hoped to recover Aquitaine. Maximilian also presently forsook the French alliance. *Gaston of Foix*, the newly-created Duke of Nemours, who commanded the French, was a man of much spirit and ability. He took *Brescia*, and gained the battle of *Ravenna* in 1512 over the army of the League; but he was killed in the moment of victory, and the great Roman commander *Prospero Colonna* forced the French to retreat beyond the Alps, and Milan was again restored to the house of Sforza.

11. Ferdinand's Conquest of Navarre, 1513.—The kingdom of Navarre, ever lapsing to the spindle side, had fallen to the grandmother of Gaston of Foix, and had since gone to the daughter of her eldest son, *Catharine*, wife of *Henry of Albret*. On the death of Gaston, Ferdinand of Aragon set up a preposterous claim on behalf of *Germaine of Foix*, Gaston's sister and his own second wife, and persuaded Henry VIII. to send him troops to assist in the conquest of Navarre, as a step to the recovery of Guienne by the English. Catharine of Navarre was overpowered, telling her husband indignantly that things would be otherwise had she been the man and he

the wife. All Navarre was now conquered by Ferdinand, except the small piece north of the Pyrenees, which was still held by the house of Albret. The English troops found that the wily Ferdinand only used them for his own purposes, and had no intention of attacking Guienne, and they returned home; but in the meantime Henry VIII. had landed at Calais in 1513, and besieged *Terouenne*. Relief was sent to the besieged, but was intercepted at *Guinegate*, where the French were put to such sudden confusion that the English called the engagement the *Battle of the Spurs*. In this war Maximilian, who had now taken the new title of *Emper-elect*, served as a volunteer on the English side. Terouenne fell, and Tournay was also taken; and Lewis's ally, *James IV.* of Scotland, having met his death at *Flodden Field*, the king, beaten at all points, felt it time to make a peace.

12. **The Peace of Tournay, 1514.**—Anne of Brittany, died in the beginning of 1514; and, while giving her daughter Claude to Francis of Angoulême, Lewis offered his own hand to *Mary*, the sister of Henry VIII., as the seal of peace he was arranging with him and with Maximilian. Tournay and Terouenne were to be ransomed, and the marriage took place; but Lewis had been long in weak health, living by rule, and the wedding festivities were too much for him, and he died six weeks after his marriage, on the 1st of January, 1515.

13. **Francis the First, 1515.**—As Lewis left no son, the crown passed to his cousin and son-in-law Francis, Count of Angoulême, famous as *Francis I.* He was just twenty-one, handsome and spirited, and a hero of the chivalry of the time, but his selfish cunning mother, Louise of Savoy, whose darling he was, had trained him in vice and perfidy, which have indelibly stained him. He looked on an expedition into Italy as a sort of knight-errantry suited to a King of France. He inherited all the Italian claims of Lewis XII.; but, while taking the titles of Duke of Milan, Count of Asti, and Lord of Genoa, he did not take that of King of Sicily. He collected his army, choosing as constable *Charles of Bourbon*, Count of *Montpensier*, who had just married *Susan*, the only child of Anne of Valois and Duke Peter of Bourbon. Prosper Colonna was taken prisoner, but the Duchy of Milan was defended by the Swiss, and the French had to fight a severe battle with them near *Marignano*, where 12,000

men were left for dead on the field. Trivulzio declared that the eighteen pitched battles he had been in before were but child's play in comparison. After it Francis insisted on being dubbed by *Peter Terrail*, commonly known as the *Chevalier Bayard*, a mere captain of men-at-arms, who, from his daring valour and high honour, had become so distinguished in the Italian campaigns that he was called the *knight without fear and without reproach*. The battle of Marignano laid the duchy at the feet of Francis, for no one had hitherto been thought able to break the Swiss, and the peace then made with France by the cantons lasted 300 years.

14. The Concordat of Bologna, 1515. — Milan was easily subdued, and the newly-chosen pope, *Leo X.*, one of the Florentine house of Medici, came to hold conference with Francis at *Bologna*. He was a bad and worldly pope, but a man of grand and noble manners, splendid in his habits, and with a great taste for classical art and poetry, such as gained the heart of the young king. Leo and Francis now agreed that the French church should disown the canons of the Council of Basel, which forbade payments to Rome and sale of benefices, and secured to the national clergy the right of self-government. On the other hand, free ecclesiastical elections were abolished, and the nomination of bishops and abbots formally given to the king. Thus the pope and the king played into each other's hands at the expense of the national Church, though not without strong resistance on the part of the clergy, who justly foresaw that the freedom and efficiency of their Church would be ruined. The Parliament of Paris refused to register the decree; the University put up public prayers against it, and only accepted it at the end of a year, under threats of personal violence from the king.

15. The Field of the Cloth of Gold, 1520. — In 1519 died the Emperor-elect Maximilian. As he had never been crowned emperor, no king of the Romans could, according to the custom followed up to this time, be chosen in his lifetime; the imperial throne was therefore vacant. Francis proposed himself to the electors, offering them bribes, and was greatly indignant when their choice fell on Charles of Austria, grandson of Maximilian, who thus became the most powerful prince in Europe. He had already inherited the Netherlands and the county of Burgundy from his father, and he reigned in the stead of his insane mother, Joan, over Castile, Aragon, Navarre, and the Two Sicilies.

By the death of Maximilian he inherited the Austrian states, but these he presently gave up to his brother Ferdinand. Francis's hatred and jealousy towards the new Emperor-elect knew no bounds, and it was the desire of overthrowing Charles that brought about the celebrated meeting between Francis and Henry VIII. between *Ardres* and *Guisnes*. This was the most useless as well as the most wasteful of conferences, for Henry was attached to Charles both by kinship and on principle; and though he feasted, danced, and wrestled with Francis, he would not give any aid against Charles. But Pope Leo X., bent, like Julius, on using one set of barbarians to drive the other out of Italy, offered Francis a passage for attacking the Spaniards in Naples, and thus rekindled the war. Francis was ready enough to defy Charles, but "he blew the horn or ever he drew the sword," and at the first note the Milanese rose against his governor, *Lautrec*, a proud, greedy man, and for the fourth time the French had to retreat beyond the Alps. *Leo* died a few days later, and, after the eight months' papacy of *Hadrian VI.*, another Medici was chosen, *Clement VII.*

16. The Constable of Bourbon, 1521.—The cause of Francis's delay was a quarrel with the constable, who, on the death of his wife and child, had become Duke of Bourbon. He was young, splendid, and almost frantic with the fierce pride cultivated by the nobles, and Louise of Savoy would fain have made him her second husband, but he rejected her with scorn as a shameless woman. In revenge she laid claim through her mother to Susan's inheritance, and the obsequious parliament would not decide against her. In his rage the constable intrigued with Charles V. and Henry VIII., proposing himself to become King of Provence—again reviving the notion of the middle kingdom—while Henry was to have *Guienne*. On the discovery of his treason he fled to Italy, and joined the imperial army under the *Marquess of Pescara*. Francis's favourite, the Admiral *Bonnivet*, had been sent to besiege Milan, but was forced to retreat before Pescara, and in a skirmish near *Romagnola* lost Bayard, who, left dying on the field, was honourably treated by the Spaniards. The French were pursued to their own borders, and Bourbon undertook to lead the Spaniards straight to Paris, but Pescara, not trusting him, refused to advance without first taking Marseilles, and being foiled in this, retreated on the advance of Francis.

17. Captivity of Francis, 1525.—Following the Spaniards into Italy, Francis laid siege to *Pavia*, which was bravely defended, and held on till Pescara, Bourbon, and *Lannoy*, the Flemish viceroy of Italy, came to the rescue. They made a night attack on his camp, and in the early morning routed him so completely that he was forced to surrender, and was sent to Spain as a prisoner. The ransom that Charles demanded was that Francis should renounce all claims in Italy, give up the duchy of Burgundy and the feudal rights of the French crown over Artois and Flanders, forgive Bourbon, and repay Henry VIII. the sums he had advanced. Francis declared he would rather kill himself than agree to such terms. He fell sick, and his sister *Margaret*, the widowed Duchess of Alençon, came to Madrid to do what she could for him, and on her way home she fell in with *Henry of Albret*, the son of Queen Catharine of Navarre, and became his wife. She was a brave and high-minded woman, and her departure left Francis to despair. Saving such conscience as he had by an oath, taken without the knowledge of Charles, that he was acting under compulsion, and did not hold himself bound by the treaty, he swore publicly to the terms required, and further undertook to give up his two eldest sons as hostages, and to marry Charles's sister *Eleanor*, as Claude of France had lately died.

18. The Treaty of Madrid, 1526.—The treaty of Madrid was sworn to in February, 1526, and Francis was exchanged for his two little sons on the Bidassoa, the boundary river. No sooner was he on his own ground than he rose in his stirrups, drew his sword, and cried, "I am yet a king;" but his only thought was how to break his word and avoid the conditions. He called together the states of the duchy of Burgundy, and put the question whether they would be made over to the emperor. On their refusal, he offered 100,000,000 crowns instead of the renunciation, which Charles indignantly refused. He then assembled, not his States-General, but bishops, nobles, and deputies from the provincial parliaments. To them he offered to abdicate, and go back to Spain rather than dismember the kingdom, and thus obtained their declaration that the treaty was not valid.

19. The Sack of Rome and Death of Bourbon, 1527.—The war was renewed, and Lautrec was sent to Italy. Bourbon, nettled at the scorn shown in Spain for his treason, had already gone thither full of a wild scheme of

making himself king of Naples. He had gathered together an army of men-at-arms of all nations, Swiss, German, Spanish, Italian, greedy only of plunder. With these desperate men he stormed the walls of Rome early in the year 1527. He fell in the assault, and his wild troops, without a general, burst in. The pope, Clement VII, fled to the Castle of St. Angelo, and the city was given up to the most horrible pillage and disorder, till the Viceroy Lannoy, coming from Naples, took the command and got them out of Rome. The kings of France and England charged this enterprise upon Charles, and jointly sent heralds to him with a defiance. The emperor replied to the English that what had taken place had been without his orders, and that the pope had been set free; but to the French he said that their king was his prisoner, and had no right to defy him. At the same time a pestilence, bred of the horrors of the sack of Rome, spread over Italy; Lautrec died of it, and the French army was so weakened that it had to surrender to the Spaniards, and most of the men died in captivity, making the sixth army lost within thirty years.

20. *The Ladies' Peace, 1529.*—After sending an absurd challenge to Charles V. to fight a duel, and then backing out of it, Francis sent his mother Louise to meet Margaret, the aunt of Charles V., at Cambrai. Terms were fixed, which, excepting that he retained Burgundy, bore harder on him than the treaty of Madrid. By the "ladies' peace" he had to renounce the homage of Flanders and Artois and his claims in Italy, and, while ransoming his sons, he married Eleanor of Austria. The emperor was thus left free to pursue his main objects, namely, to drive back the Turks, whose advance was threatening Europe, and to obtain a general council to inquire into the numerous complaints brought against the clergy in every part of the Church. His great hindrance was the desire of the pope to stave off inquiry, and the hatred and jealousy of Francis, who continually harassed him and balked him in the fulfilment of his great purposes. Yet by empty flash and dash Francis acquired the sympathies of history, and so flattered the vanity of his people that no king has done more harm than he has by making a great display of honour and bravery go with falsehood, perfidy, and vice. His manners were charming, and he had much taste for art and beauty learned in his Italian campaign. He had brought home exquisite paintings of *Raphael*; *Leonardo*

da Vinci spent his old age at his court and died in his arms, and the French school of painting came into life under him. Great scholars in Greek and Latin adorned the University of Paris, and with learning came inquiry and doubt of the ordinary teaching of the clergy, whose dependence on the crown was fast corrupting them. *Lefèvre* and *Farel*, two scholars at the University, first began translating the Bible and teaching from their own interpretation. They were welcomed and protected by Francis's sister, the Queen of Navarre, at whose town of Nérac they met with John Chauvin or *Calvin*, a native of Noyon in Picardy, afterwards the famous reformer, whose book called "The Institutes of Calvin" became the guide of the Reformed in France. Francis, as the enemy of Charles, allied himself with the Lutherans in Germany, and even with the Turks and Moors but, as the friend of the pope, he persecuted the Reformers in France. In fact the French Reformed, carrying out every doctrine to its logical and practical conclusion, waged war against whatever seemed to them to interfere with spiritual worship, and thus gave great offence. Stones were thrown at sacred images, and most offensive placards against the doctrine of the mass set up, not only in the streets of Paris, but even nailed to the king's own door at Blois. An expiatory procession was made by the king and his court to all the churches in Paris, and several persons found guilty of heresy were first strangled and then burned. The king's sister Margaret retreated to Béarn, and Calvin found a refuge with Renée, daughter of Lewis XII., who had been married to the Duke of Ferrara. He was afterwards invited to preside over the Reformed at Geneva.

21. The Seizure of Savoy, 1535.—Far from dropping his plans of revenge, Francis lay in wait for the first chance of another attempt; in 1535 he had a meeting at Marseilles with Clement VII., at which a marriage was arranged between his second son *Henry* and *Catharine*, the only direct legitimate offspring of the house of Medici. It is said that Clement told him that the ruin of the French armies in Italy had been for want of a free passage through the duchy of Savoy, and having thus, as it were, sown two firebrands, Clement returned home and died soon after. The new pope, *Paul III.*, was an imperialist, but the death of the last Sforza led Francis to make another effort, renewing the claim to

Milan which he had renounced. At the same time he pretended a right to Savoy, through his mother, although the reigning duke, Emmanuel Filibert, was her brother's son. The French troops took possession of almost all Savoy and Piedmont, and the dispossessed duke carried his complaints to the emperor, who in great indignation renewed the war. He not only chased the French out of Piedmont, but crossed the Var and invaded Provence. The defence had been intrusted to the *Count of Montmorency*, a man of some talent, brave, honest, but pitiless, who wasted the country before the enemy, burning every village or unwallled town. Thus, though Charles's army was starved out and forced to retreat, the peasants suffered still more, and countless families were ruined, besides the hosts who died of misery. Marseilles held out, but the emperor entered Arles, where he would have been crowned as King of Burgundy, had he not found the place deserted by the nobles and clergy. Hunger and disease made such havoc with his army that he was forced to retreat to Italy as Francis marched southward. During this advance the dauphin died, and Francis actually accused the emperor of having poisoned him. Also, in imitation of Philip Augustus, the king held a court, and cited Charles, as Count of Flanders and Artois, to answer for having made war on his liege lord, and, as he scorned to reply, he was declared to have forfeited these domains. But to take them was a different matter. No French party could be stirred up in Italy, and all Francis could effect among his allies was to cause the shores of *Otranto* to be ravaged by a Turkish and Moorish fleet. When driven off by the Venetian and Genoese ships, the Moslems took refuge in the port of Marseilles, and there sold their slaves and plunder. All Europe was indignant, and shame as well as exhaustion forced Francis to agree to a ten years' truce. By this he gave up his Turkish alliance in return for Charles withdrawing his support from the Duke of Savoy; but peace was not made, because the emperor, who had once offered Milan to Francis's son Henry, as Duke of Orleans, would not give it the heir to the crown.

22. Visit of Charles to France, 1540.—Montmorency, who had much influence over both the king and his son, persuaded them of the hopelessness of the struggle. Presently Charles, having occasion to reach *Ghent* more rapidly than was possible by sea, requested a safe-conduct

through France. The king replied by an invitation to his court, which the emperor accepted on condition that he should hear nothing about Milan. He was welcomed with lavish display and a course of brilliant feasts, but all the time he was tormented with entreaties to give Milan to the dauphin. To these he turned a deaf ear, but ominous hints were given, such as the court jesters saying that he was a fool for coming, but that the king would be a greater fool still for letting him go as he came. Charles would not be beguiled into any promise, though, when he had been safely escorted to the frontier, he offered the Low Countries, with his daughter's hand, to the youngest son of Francis, on condition that Savoy was restored to Emmanuel Filibert. Two years later the emperor met with a disaster in attacking the Moors in Africa; Francis again began to harass him, bringing a fleet of Turkish ships to besiege *Nice*, the last place remaining to the Duke of Savoy. When it had been sacked and burned, the Turks wintered in Toulon harbour, and Henry VIII. was so indignant that he took up arms and himself besieged and took Boulogne on the 14th of September, 1544.

23. The Peace of Crespy, 1544.—Again Francis was crushed into accepting terms of peace, and agreed to restore the Duke of Savoy, and work with Charles at bringing quiet to the Church, and defending Christendom from the Turks. Peace was signed at *Crespy* on the 18th of September, 1544, just fifty years since the Italian war had been begun by Charles VIII., a war in which France had gained nothing, but had lost 2,000,000 brave men! The peace did not include Henry VIII., and Francis went with his two sons to retake Boulogne, but fever was raging in Picardy, and the younger died. The king had no heart to carry on the war, and made peace with Henry, undertaking to ransom Boulogne in eight years. Still he avoided restoring Savoy to his cousin, and kept up a secret understanding with the Protestants in Germany, who were resisting the assembly of the Council of Trent in 1545. Another war was impending when he died on the 31st of March, 1547, in his fifty-fourth year. His health had been ruined by vice; for, though he has been a favourite hero with those who can be dazzled with false glitter, he had neither honour nor honesty, and was a profligate in life, with only enough religion to satisfy the corrupt court clergy, persecuting at home

what he protected abroad that he might annoy his enemies.

24. **Henry II., 1547.**—Henry II. was a less clever, but more honest man, and in better times might have been a good king. He had a kind of sturdy constancy, which might have been turned to better account than by his unswerving devotion to Montmorency (now constable) as his friend, and to *Diana of Poitiers* as his mistress. She was a widow, twelve years his elder, while his wife, the Florentine Catharine de' Medici, was neglected and despised. His heirloom being hatred to Charles V., he declared himself Protector of the Protestants of Germany, while he persecuted the Calvinists at home. At the same time he helped the Scots in their resistance to a marriage between their infant Queen *Mary Stewart* and *Edward VI.* of England. The mother of the little queen was *Mary of Lorraine*, daughter of *Claude, Duke of Guise*, the second son of René, Duke of Lorraine. She, being in the French interest, hoped to shelter her child from factions at home and enemies across the border, by shipping her off to France, to be bred up as wife to the dauphin *Francis*. When she was thus secured, Henry made peace with England in 1550, and ransomed Boulogne.

25. **Seizure of Metz, 1552.**—On the election of a new pope, *Julius III.*, Henry tried to follow in his father's steps by forming leagues in Italy with the kindred of Paul III. The great revolt of *Maurice, Elector of Saxony*, also gave him an excuse for calling himself Protector of the Liberties of Germany. In that capacity he seized the three bishoprics of *Metz, Verdun*, and *Toul*, and laid Elsass waste. There was an undecided battle at *Renty*, and Henry's troops ravaged the Netherlands, and Charles's ravaged Picardy, till the emperor agreed in 1555 to a five years' truce. He was designing the abdication which he carried out in that year and the next. From this time the Spanish and German dominions of the house of Austria were quite separate. Charles's brother Ferdinand went on reigning in Austria, while his son Philip inherited Spain, the Sicilies, the Netherlands, and Charles's other hereditary dominions. In the empire he was succeeded by Ferdinand of Austria, who was already King of the Romans. Strictly, Ferdinand was only Emperor-elect; but from this time, as no emperor was crowned after Charles the Fifth, he and his successors were commonly spoken of as emperors.

26. War with England and Spain, 1557.—The Neapolitan *Carlo Caraffa*, who had just become pope as *Paul IV.*, hated Spain for seizing his country, and invited Henry to follow the old French fashion of a raid into Naples ; but Henry sent in his stead the Duke of Guise. Long before his arrival however the pope was threatened by the *Duke of Alba*, the Spanish Viceroy of Naples, and found his guard would not fight, so that he was only saved by Alba's respect for Rome, which prevented any attack on the city. The Spaniards retreated as Guise advanced ; but the French were most insolent and offensive at Rome, and their former conduct was so fresh in the minds of the Neapolitans that Guise could gain nothing. Meantime Philip II., with Emmanuel Filibert, the dispossessed Duke of Savoy, entered France at the head of an army of Spaniards, Flemings, and English, the last as subjects of his wife, Queen *Mary*. He besieged *St. Quentin*, which, though ill-fortified and ill-provisioned, held out bravely under the Admiral of France *Gaspar de Coligny*, till the Constable de Montmorency marched to its relief, sending Coligny's brother, the *Sieur d'Andelot*, to throw troops and provisions into the place. D'Andelot succeeded, but Montmorency was surprised by the Duke of Savoy and totally routed, being made prisoner, with half the nobles of France and all the artillery. The way to Paris was open, but Philip would not advance till St. Quentin was taken, and Coligny held out for seventeen days, thus giving the nation time to rally. Henry wrote to recall Guise from Rome, saying, "I hope the pope will do as much for me in my need as I did for him." But Paul was in despair at losing the protection of the French army, and when the duke declared that no chains could keep him from his king, the pope broke forth, "Go, then, having done little for your king, less for the Church, and nothing for your own honour." But Guise, on his return, at once restored the spirits of the French by a sudden attack on *Calais*, which he captured and restored to the crown of France. Thus, after more than two hundred years' possession, the last remains of the French conquests of the English kings passed away, as the last remains of their Aquitanian heritage had passed away a hundred years earlier.

27. The Peace of Câteau Cambresis, 1559.—At *Gravelines* Guise was defeated, and Henry was forced to accept Philip's terms. France kept Calais and also the three

bishoprics, though they were not as yet formally ceded by the Empire. But he had to restore the Duke of Savoy to his dominions, and to give him in marriage his sister Margaret. He was also to give his daughter *Elizabeth* either to Philip himself or his eldest son. The peace was signed at *Câteau Cambresis* in 1559, and was the real end of the Italian wars. Henry further bound himself to promote the re-assembling of the Council of Trent, and to exterminate heresy in France. The Parliament of Paris however objected to persecution until the Council should have decided what heresy really was, and Henry, going to the parliament, found the counsellor *Anne Dubourg*, not only arguing in favour of the Reformed, but speaking plain truths against court vices. Henry was so much offended that the staunch counsellor was arrested, and put on trial for treason. Burnings went on, and were beheld by the court as a meritorious action. Diana of Poitiers is said to have taken the opportunity of revenging herself of a poor tailor employed about the palace, who had once rebuked her for her evil life. It was said that the man, on his way to execution, cast a glance on the king which Henry was never able to forget during the short remainder of his life. During the tournaments which celebrated the arrival of the Duke of Savoy for his marriage, the guard slipped from the lance of the *Count of Montgomery*, and the point pierced the king's eye, so that he instantly lost consciousness. He died in eleven days' time, on the 29th of June, 1559, in his forty-first year, leaving four sons and four daughters. While he lay expiring, his sister Margaret was married in haste to Emmanuel Filibert, and Dubourg's trial was proceeded with, so that he was put to death a little later. *Montgomery* escaped, and did not fall into Catharine's hands till much later.

CHAPTER VII.

THE RELIGIOUS WARS.

1. Francis II., 1559.—*Francis II.*, the eldest son of Henry II., was only fifteen, a sickly boy, married to *Mary*, the young Queen of Scots, and niece of *Francis*,

Duke of Guise. This younger branch of the house of Lorraine had become entirely French, but without forgetting their claim to direct Carolingian descent. Their influence excited the jealousy of the house of Bourbon, which traced its lineage in the male line direct from St. Lewis. The heads of the family of Bourbon were *Antony, Duke of Vendome*, and *Lewis, Prince of Condé*, his brother, and by far the abler of the two. The old Constable of Montmorency had fallen into the background, and the contest would have been a mere party struggle between two great families, had it not been complicated by the religious question. The Council of Trent was assembling again, and the moderate wished nothing to be done till the voice of the Church had spoken. But the Guise family were ardent against all reforms, and this would have inclined the Bourbons to the side of Reform, even if Antony's wife had not been an ardent Calvinist. She was *Joan II., Queen of Navarre*, the only child of Henry d'Albret and of Margaret, sister of Francis I. She was a woman of much learning, virtue, and ability, dragging forward with difficulty her vain, indolent, pleasure-loving husband, by the help of his clever and energetic brother, seconded by the Admiral Coligny, a thoroughly good and religious man, much in earnest. The Reformed began to be called by the name of *Huguenots*, apparently from the German *Eidgenossen*, or oath-comrades, the name of the Swiss Confederates. They were much dreaded on account of their views of personal freedom, and their dislike of the usurpations of the crown; but the Queen Mother Catharine de Medici favoured them, as a balance to the Guises, who were all powerful with the young king and queen.

2. **The Conspiracy of Amboise, 1560.**—In his hatred of the Duke of Guise, Condé agreed to a plot formed by a Huguenot named *La Renaudie* for collecting a great number of gentlemen of the sect at the court at Blois under pretext of presenting petitions to the king. The Duke of Guise and his brothers were to be imprisoned, and the young king to be placed in the hands of the Prince of Condé. The plot was betrayed to Guise, who lost no time in removing the court to Amboise, a much stronger place, and surrounding it with troops. Condé was in attendance on the king when *La Renaudie* advanced, and hoping to conceal his part in the plot, he had to march against his own party. *La Renaudie* was killed in the skirmish, but others

of the Huguenots who were taken accused both Condé and his brother the King of Navarre. Guise proposed that, when they next came to court, the king should accuse them, and the attendants should draw their swords and kill them on the spot, but for this Francis had either too much conscience or too little nerve. He took care to be so friendly with the King of Navarre as to leave no excuse for the attack, and the Duke of Guise was heard to mutter, "Coward." But the poor boy was even then dying of abscess in the ear, and only lived till the 3rd of December, 1560.

3. The Conference of Poissy, 1561.—His young brother, *Charles IX.*, was but ten years old, and Catharine de' Medici, becoming regent, recalled Montmorency to court, and to annoy the Guises, showed favour to the Huguenots. *Montluc, Bishop of Valence*, who favoured their opinions, was invited to preach before her, and Coligny's brother, the *Cardinal de Chatillon*, administered the Lord's Supper in Huguenot fashion in Beauvais cathedral and brought his wife to court. But wherever Calvinism prevailed, the feelings of devout Catholics were sure to be wounded by attacks on the mass, the crucifix, and images of the saints. The queen had promised Coligny that there should be a public discussion, and this took place at Poissy, in 1561, where *Theodore Beza*, the chief Calvinist champion, so shocked the Catholics by his statement of the doctrine of the Holy Eucharist that it was instantly protested against as blasphemous. The queen was severely blamed by the Papal legate for holding such a meeting while the Council was actually assembling at Trent, and the Conference broke up without effect. Still the Parliament of Paris registered an ordinance permitting the Calvinists to meet for public worship, provided they were unarmed, but not within walled cities, or within a certain distance from court. This permission gave great offence to Guise and Montmorency, who, with another old soldier, the *Marshal de St. André*, formed a league called the Triumvirate to protect the Church. They won over the King of Navarre to their side by giving him hopes that Philip II. would give him the kingdom of Sardinia in compensation for the loss of his lands on the other side of the Pyrenees.

4. The Massacre of Vassy, 1562.—Guise was visiting his mother *Anne of Este*, at her castle of Joinville, near Vassy, when she complained of the noise made by a

Huguenot congregation which assembled in a neighbouring barn. The gentlemen of the duke's suit attacked the barn; stones were thrown and swords drawn. As the duke chanced to be hit on the cheek, his followers in a rage burned the barn and slew forty-nine Huguenots. This was in 1562, and was the beginning of the civil war. Condé appealed to the queen, and Catharine, wishing to play him off against the Guises, forbade the duke to enter Paris, but in her despite he rode into the city with St. André and Montmorency. Throughout this war his family enjoyed the same kind of popularity in Paris which the dukes of Burgundy had had, as the most brilliant representatives of popular feeling. Much alarmed, Catharine authorized Condé to collect troops, but Guise and Montmorency were beforehand with him, and secured the person of the king. However, Condé and Coligny raised an army where the admiral enforced strict religious discipline, and which was joined by many nobles in the hope of wresting from the crown the privileges of which it had been so long stripping them. The Catholic party were everywhere taken by surprise, and two hundred towns, including Rouen, Lyons, and Montpellier, were in the hands of the rebels. Wherever Calvinism had the upper hand, there was an overthrow of everything which had been hitherto held most sacred; and, when the horrified people retaliated by cruelties, these were returned, until both sides were worked up to dreadful ferocity. Families were broken up and took opposite sides, and yet there was no mercy to sex or age among the vanquished. Broadly speaking, the north was Catholic, and the south Huguenot. But neither was exclusively so; village was against village, town against town, noble against noble, burgher against burgher. Brittany was Catholic to the heart's core, except the *Rohan* family, who were staunch Calvinists to the last.

5. **The First Huguenot War, 1562.**—Normandy was divided, and the first great struggle took place around the city of Rouen, which, in 1562, was besieged by the King of Navarre and the Duke of Guise. Antony was killed by a shot from the walls, leaving his wife Joan free to devote herself, the small fragment of her kingdom and her counties of Foix and Béarn, and her young son *Henry*, wholly to the Huguenot cause. After taking Rouen and giving it up for a week to plunder, Guise marched against Condé, who was hovering round Paris. A battle was

fought at *Dreux*, in which the Huguenots made Montmorency prisoner, and were at first so successful that Catharine said, "Well, we shall say our prayers in French." But she spoke too hastily, for the Huguenots broke their ranks in the pursuit, Guise retrieved the day, and took Condé captive. While besieging Orleans, Guise received a mortal wound in the shoulder from an assassin named *Poltro*. His family were persuaded that the murder had been sanctioned by Coligny, and were bent on revenge. But as the Triumvirate was now broken up, a treaty was made called the *Pacification of Amboise*, by which Condé and Montmorency were exchanged, and freedom of worship was granted to the Calvinists. Had Dreux been a victory, much more would have been gained by them. At the Council of Trent the French clergy had demanded permission for communion in both kinds, prayers in the vulgar tongue, and the marriage of the clergy. But the Italians would not hear of these things, and after the battle of Dreux the French ceased to press for them. The Council affirmed all the doctrines called in question by Calvin, but as some of its decrees seemed to trench on the civil power, Catharine would not cause its canons to be accepted in France.

6. The Second Huguenot War, 1567.—Catharine's plan of dealing with these troublous times was to keep the peace outwardly while working ruin secretly. She kept a most brilliant court full of young ladies, who were called the queen-mother's squadron. While apparently only occupied in needle-work, readings of Italian poems, hunting and hawking, games, songs, dances, and pageants, they were set to bewitch and enthrall the men who came within their toils. There was a constant round of gaiety and sensual indulgence, intended to destroy the honour, morals, and energy of their victims, while the queen's bland Italian nature made all smooth. When she went to Bayonne, in 1566, to meet her daughter Elizabeth, the wife of Philip II., she had a conference with the Duke of Alva, in which she boasted of her adroitness in thus gaining the Prince of Condé, and Alva replied that, though ten thousand frogs were not worth the head of one salmon, the rabble might be disposed of by Sicilian vespers. Condé's inaction under her spells did indeed enable her quietly to issue one edict after another. She thus took back each privilege granted at Amboise, until she began to raise an army and hire Swiss troops to put down the Reformers.

Then, in 1567, there was another vain and useless war, chiefly notable for the death of the Constable of Montmorency at *St. Denys* in the moment of victory, with whom much staunch honesty died. The king declared that he would bear his own sword, and made his brother *Henry Duke of Anjou* lieutenant-general at sixteen. In the south, Condé actually had coins struck bearing the inscription, "Lewis XIII., first Christian king of France." A battle took place between him and the Duke of Anjou on the 13th of March, 1569, at the bridge of *Jarnac* over the river *Vienne*. Condé had been hurt the day before by a fall from his horse, and was kicked in the leg as the fight was beginning, but in this state he bravely charged the enemy. He was driven back, the Huguenots fled, his horse was killed under him, and, disabled as he was, he had just surrendered when he was shot dead by his greatest enemy, the *Baron de Montesquion*. His death would have broken up the party, had not the Queen of Navarre come forward, presenting to the disheartened Huguenots her son *Henry*, Prince of Béarn, and his cousin the Prince of Condé, sixteen and twelve years old. Henry was proclaimed generalissimo, and Coligny commanded in his name. But, in the autumn of 1569, the Duke of Anjou again routed them at *Moncontour*, and peace was made by the king, partly out of jealousy of his brother's exploits.

7. The Massacre of St. Bartholomew, 1572.—Catharine now again opened her court to the Huguenot nobles. Her object was to use upon the young heir of Navarre the arts that had sapped the energy of his uncle. She therefore offered him the hand of her daughter Margaret, and invited him and his mother to court. Queen Joan came alone, and was treated with much civility, but at the end of three weeks she died, early in 1572, of a short illness. She was thought to have been poisoned by the court perfumer, called by some the queen's poisoner. She was a great loss to her cause, and, with her, caution seemed to have been taken from the whole party. Her son Henry, now King of Navarre, came to court, and Coligny and the great body of the Huguenot nobles flocked thither in his train, only the older and more wary holding back. The queen-mother seems to have been as usual inclined to smooth matters, and keep one party in check by the other; and her son Charles IX. whom she had instructed to win over the Huguenots, was honestly

attracted by their brave, open, simple character. But his brother the Duke of Anjou, a fanatic in outward piety, but full of vice, falsehood, and ferocity, had a deadly hatred for them; and *Henry*, the young *Duke of Guise*, who was just come of age, looked on Coligny as his father's murderer, and, with the mob of Paris to back him, was resolved upon vengeance. In this perilous state of affairs, Coligny and his friends talked to the king of plans for freeing him from the control of his mother and brother, and riding away from a hunting party to summon an army and make war on Spain. The plot was discovered by Catharine, and alarmed her so much as to bring her over to the side of the violent party. She hurried on the wedding, although the pope, *Gregory XIII.*, on account of the heresy of the bridegroom, refused the dispensation which was necessary for the marriage of second cousins. Moreover the bride, who was in love with Guise, was so unwilling that she would utter no vow during the service, and her brother pushed down her head in token of consent. This was on the 18th of August, 1572. Three days later, Guise, who was resolved to take his own revenge if all else should fail, caused a shot to be fired at the admiral in the street. It only shattered his hands; but there was great commotion, and the Huguenots guarded the admiral's house night and day. They talked so loudly of justice and revenge as to complete the terror of the queen, and make her consent to the plan of the Dukes of Anjou and Guise for cutting off the whole party by a general slaughter. The king's consent was forced from him when he found that Coligny's death was determined on. "Kill all," he said; "let none be left to reproach me." Orders were sent to the garrisons of all the cities where the population was of mixed faith. Anjou and the *Marshal de Tavannes* could command the royal body-guard. Guise had a large armed suite, besides his influence with the burghers of Paris. A white sleeve and the white cross of Lorraine were the tokens by which the murderers were to know one another, and the signal was the tolling of the great bell of *St. Germain l'Auxerrois*, close to the Louvre. It rang at midnight on St. Bartholomew's day, the 24th of August, 1572, when the palace was full of Huguenot gentlemen, attendants of the King of Navarre, and with them began the slaughter by the guards, while Guise went in quest of Coligny, who was

murdered in his bed and thrown out of the window. The streets resounded with the cry, "Kill, kill." Vague reports of a Huguenot plot excited the blood-thirsty frenzy to which the mob of Paris is peculiarly liable, and the whole city was one great shambles. The king had begun by securing his Huguenot nurse and surgeon in his own chamber; but he became maddened by horror, threatened the King of Navarre and Prince of Condé, and would have fallen on them himself had not his wife, *Elizabeth of Austria*, thrown herself in front of them. The choice between death and the mass was set before them, and when they yielded they were still kept at court as prisoners at large. Hosts of Huguenots were killed in that night and the two following days; those who escaped were either country nobles in their own castles, or the inhabitants of the more unimportant towns and of those southern cities and districts which were almost entirely Calvinist. The court tried to justify itself by professing to have discovered a great Calvinist plot, and appointing a thanksgiving day for the deliverance, when Coligny's corpse was gibbeted as that of a traitor. Gregory XIII. who had thought the French court on the point of forsaking the Roman obedience, did not scruple to rejoice; but the Emperor Maximilian II. showed how much he was shocked, and Queen Elizabeth broke off the plans of marriage which had been designed between her and Charles's youngest brother *Francis, Duke of Alençon*.

8. Death of Charles IX., 1574.—Queen Joan of Navarre had strongly fortified the city of *La Rochelle*, and here the remaining Huguenots drew together, but they were stunned by the loss of their leaders. Before long they were relieved of the presence of the Duke of Anjou, who was elected King of Poland, and crowned at Cracow on the 22nd of February, 1574. Charles IX.'s heart had been broken by the horrible crime into which he had been dragged, and he was dying of decline. The Huguenots, therefore, fixed their hopes on the *Duke of Alençon*, on whose behalf they promised to raise the south; while the *Duke of Montmorency*, who, though a Catholic, hated Guise, would secure the queen-mother. Alençon consented, but his mother guessed the plot, and forced the whole design from him. She thus had time to hinder its execution by carrying the dying king back to Paris, and keeping a strict watch on his brother and the Bourbon princes. Overcome by agonizing thoughts of the terrible

night of St. Bartholomew, the unhappy Charles died in his twenty-fifth year, on the 30th of May, 1574.

9. Flight of the Princes to the Huguenots, 1576.—*Henry III.* was delighted to leave Poland. The wild, fierce, tumultuous nobility, and the small amount of power allowed to an elective king, did not suit him. On the news of his brother's death he rode off by night, and was pursued like a felon by his Polish subjects ; yet he loitered on the way home, first at Venice and then in Lorraine, where he fell in love with a niece of Guise, *Louise of Vaudemont*, whom he made his queen. He was a strange character. All the spirit he had shown as a lad seemed to have been worn out before he was five-and-twenty, and, though he was not devoid of personal courage, his whole reign was a course of vacillation, while in deceit and treachery he was his mother's best pupil. The debauchery of his court was such that it was said that it was only by their steeples that the Parisians were known to be Christians. Yet this debauchery alternated with extravagant penances and devotions, when the king and all his court went in sackcloth, barefooted, and scourging one another. Henry withal was a wonderful fop, using washes for his complexion, and sleeping in gloves to preserve the beauty of his hands. His court consisted of young men, whom the nation called his *mignons*, and whom he fondled and pampered till they became inordinately proud and vain. Yet they were brave in battle, and they had moreover fierce quarrels and duels among themselves. Never was there a more horrid mixture of foppery, treachery, and barbarity than in these days, when it was esteemed a graceful accomplishment so to give a mortal wound that the blood might spout forth like a fountain. The first person to break from this abominable court was the Prince of Condé, a grave, stern man, who at once returned to Calvinism, and took the lead of the Huguenots. Montmorency, though a Catholic, joined him, hoping in this weakness of the crown to restore the power of the nobility, and the Duke of Alençon escaped to their camp, where he was received with joy which he little deserved. He was a small, ugly, ape-like being, spiteful and perfidious, and he hoped to force his brother to give him some large appanage by going over to the enemy. These tidings at last awoke the spirit of the King of Navarre, who, after four years of sluggishness at the court, broke

away and joined the Huguenot army, abjuring the Catholic Church and declaring that he would never enter Paris again save as King of France. Thus united, the Huguenots and their allies were very strong. The queen-mother was glad to lure back her son Alençon by giving him the duchy of Anjou, and at the same time the King of Navarre was made governor of Guienne, and freedom of conscience was promised to the Calvinists in all towns save Paris. This was called *Monsieur's* peace, *Monsieur* being the usual designation of the next brother of the reigning king.

10. The League, 1577.—The champion of the Roman Catholic Church was Philip II. of Spain, while Queen Elizabeth was looked on as the head of the Reform everywhere. But the hereditary policy of the house of Valois was enmity to Spain and alliance with England; Anjou moreover, like his brother, was a wooer of the English queen, and he accepted the invitation of the revolted Dutch Calvinists in the Netherlands to become their head and protector. The zealous Catholics took alarm, and formed a *League* for the protection of their faith, binding themselves to resist to the utmost any attack on the Church, and to prevent any heretic from coming to the crown. At the head of this League stood the Duke of Guise and his brothers, and it was greatly fostered by the order of Jesuits. At Paris men even began to whisper that Henry and his brother were as effete and unworthy as any old "long-haired king." It was remarked moreover that their next male heirs were those relapsed heretics the Bourbon princes, and that the time might be come for hiding Henry III. in a convent; that Hugh Capet had been an usurper, while the Lorraine princes had the true blood of Charles the Great. Meantime Henry of Navarre kept court at Nérac, where he was joined by his wife, Margaret of Valois. No one guessed what was in the young king. His easy grace and kindness won all hearts, even while his vicious habits shocked the Calvinists. As yet he seemed to be a mere pleasant trifler, like his father Antony, who might easily be set aside.

11. War of the Three Henries, 1584.—Matters were brought to a point by the death of *Monsieur*, unmarried, in 1584. The king was childless, and Henry of Navarre was the next male heir, though his kindred with the house of Valois in the direct male line was so distant that they had no common ancestor nearer than Saint Lewis. The

Leaguers took an oath that no heretic should reign ; but they could not put forward either Guise or his cousin the Duke of Lorraine, without offending Philip of Spain, whose help they needed. For as his wife Elizabeth had been the eldest daughter of Henry II., he claimed the crown for her only child, *Isabel Clara Eugenia*. To gain time the Leaguers recognized as heir *Charles, Cardinal of Bourbon*, uncle of the King of Navarre, intending after him to give the crown to one of the house of Lorraine, and to marry him to the Spanish princess. Meanwhile the revolted Netherlanders were begging Henry III. to accept their sovereignty and support them against Philip II., and his trafficking with these Reformers brought the rage of the Leaguers on him. One of his *mignons*, the *Duke of Joyeuse*, advised him to make friends with the League and accept their terms ; another, the *Duke of Epernon*, would have had him throw himself for aid on the King of Navarre and the Huguenots. He preferred this last counsel, for he liked the boon companion of his youth, and he hated Guise, who had always scorned and tyrannized over him, and was in effect what he was called in joke, King of Paris. Guise was marching against Henry with 12,000 men, when Catharine de' Medici, old, sick, and feeble as she was, once more came to the front. She met Guise at Nemours, agreed to all his demands except the disinheriting of the King of Navarre, who invited the king to come to his camp, where he would find only loyal subjects. In return Henry III. entreated his cousin to return to the Catholic Church, and so satisfy all parties. This correspondence made the League conjure the pope to render reconciliation impossible. *Sixtus V.* was thus forced by Spanish power, against his own inclination, to excommunicate the two Bourbon cousins, and declare them incapable of inheriting the crown, to release the King of Navarre's dominions from their allegiance, and to call on the King of France to expel the relapsed heretics. In return Henry of Navarre caused a paper to be affixed to the gates of the Vatican declaring that "Monsieur Sixtus," calling himself pope, had lied, appealing from him to a general council, and demanding support from all Christian kings. Meantime the war of the three Henries went on without much result, till on the 20th of October, 1587, the Bourbon princes met Joyeuse and the king at *Coutras*, at the junction of the rivers Isle and Droune. The Huguenots had 6,500 men, the Royalists

above 10,000, but officered by *mignons*, so that the dash and bravery of Henry of Navarre gained in one hour the first complete victory ever won by his party. Joyeuse was killed and his artillery taken ; but Henry then returned to Béarn, while an army of German Protestants, which was marching to join him, was cut off by Guise and Epernon.

12. *The Barricades, 1587.*—The Catholics were divided into three parties, namely, the Leaguers, who would have no Calvinist king, nor toleration for a heretic ; the Royalists, who thought nothing could interfere with hereditary right ; and the Montmorency party, who made common cause with the Huguenots, in hopes of restoring the ancient power of the nobility. But the fall of the Duke of Joyeuse had so weakened the Royalists that Guise, in a conference at Nancy, decided that the time was come for forcing on the king the recognition of the Cardinal of Bourbon as his heir, the acceptance of the canons of the Council of Trent, and the establishment of the Inquisition. Whatever kingly feeling remained to Henry III. was shown in his wish to do justice to his heir, and he temporized till the people of Paris grew furious. Guise hurried from Nancy, and on the 7th of May, 1587, entered the capital, where he was welcomed as the Judas Maccabæus of France, and going to the king at the Louvre, insisted on his accepting the terms of the League. Henry still delayed, and began to muster his Scottish and Swiss guards, thus giving rise to a report that there was to be a massacre of the Leaguers. The citizens, rising in arms, barricaded the streets, and in alarm Henry rode off to Blois. He was shot at as he passed the gate, and turning round he swore only to return through a breach in the walls. Still he was not out of reach of Guise, who came after him and forced him to consent to everything, and to become the mere tool of the League. The States-General were convoked at Blois, and before them Henry declared himself chief of the League, and submitted to decrees destroying the power of the crown.

13. *Murder of Guise, 1588.*—Guise's conduct was insolent ; Henry's suite were abused, struck and wounded by the followers of the duke ; and it was the common report that Guise's sister, the *Duchess of Montpensier*, kept a pair of gold-handled scissors with which to shave the head of the last Valois before he should be put into his convent. Henry's savage nature awakened, and with some of his guards he plotted the death of his tyrant. Warnings were

sent to Guise ; but he was too proud and daring to heed them, and went as usual to the council at the palace on the 23rd of December, 1588. He was summoned into the king's apartments, where eight of Henry's gentlemen fell on him and killed him on the spot. The duke's brother, the cardinal, was killed the next day. The king then spurned the body with his foot, and Henry, going to the room where Queen Catharine lay ill in bed, said, "I am King of France, the King of Paris is dead." "Take care that you are not king of nothing," she answered ; "you have cut, can you sew up again?" She died a fortnight later. Henry of Guise, though a violent and very far from a virtuous man, had more honour and singleness of aim than either of the other two Henries, and his grand presence and noble manners had made him the idol of his party, as his death rendered him their martyr. All Catholic France cried out with horror, and Paris uttered roars of frenzy, tearing down the king's coats of arms, destroying his portraits, and talking of a republic. As Guise's children were infants, his brother *Charles, Duke of Mayenne*, became head of the League, and levied war against the murderer.

14. Murder of Henry III., 1589.—The only hope for Henry III. was in throwing himself on his brother-in-law of Navarre and owning him as his heir. The two kings were joined by all such Catholics as were unwilling to go all lengths with the Leaguers, and at the head of 40,000 men they blockaded Paris, while the Duke of Mayenne could only hover in the distance with 10,000. But the besieged, men, women, and children, were filled with passionate fury against the ally of heretics, the assassin of the champion of their faith. They were excited by the fierce appeals of the Duchess of Montpensier and the savage sermons of the Dominicans and Jesuits. At last a young Dominican monk named *Jacques Clement*, the day before a general assault was expected, stole out of Paris in disguise, and, presenting a letter to the king, stabbed him during the reading of it. Thus Henry III. died on the 5th of August, 1589, in his thirty-eighth year, exhorting his friends to cleave to his cousin of Navarre. In him the house of Valois became extinct. Under the kings of that house the kingdom had nearly perished, and, when its strength was restored, they had used it for wars of ambition. At last home troubles rent the kingdom, and the frivolity, falsehood, and cruelty of the sons of

Henry II., corrupted by their own mother, caused the line to end in disgrace and wretchedness. During the two centuries of their reign the country, from the general impulse which affected all Europe, had advanced in art, learning, and the like, but it had gone back in the sense of personal honour, mercy, and morality. The whole policy of Europe had been infected by Italian craft, and falsehood was viewed as the licensed weapon of statesmen. But France bore off the palm, not only of deceit, but of treachery and bloodshed, and the standard of outward decency and female virtue fell to its lowest in the courts of Catharine de' Medici and her daughter Margaret. Earnest men had gone over to Calvinism, leaving only the dregs behind them; but even religion on both sides was stained with the savage ferocity of the time. As a rule, no quarter was given, duels were common, private assassination was even more frequent, and both the Jesuit and Dominican orders were wont to deem any means justifiable which removed a foe of the Church.

15. The Battle of Ivry, 1590.—Henry of Navarre, now *Henry IV.* of France, had been steeped to the utmost in the profligacy of the court, and though his sweet, generous temper, keen wit, and ready courage kept him far above his unhappy cousins, his honour was not untainted, and he was a Huguenot rather by party than in faith. The South was now tranquil under Henry, and most of its cities were Huguenot; but the whole North was a field of battle, fearfully devastated alike by both parties. The Cardinal of Bourbon was proclaimed king by the League as *Charles X.*, and troops were sent by Philip II. to his aid. But Spanish interference was sure to rouse French hatred, and Henry IV. was accepted by all the Royalist Catholics, and was aided by Elizabeth of England and the German Lutherans. In the winter he made great progress in Normandy, always respecting Catholic churches and restraining cruelties. While he was besieging Dreux, Mayenne came to relieve it, and a battle was fought in the plain of *Ivry* on the 14th of March, 1590. The Leaguers were blessed by a Franciscan friar, holding up a great cross, while the Huguenots sang a psalm, and Henry made one of the speeches that tell so much on the French, "Upon them! God is for us. Behold His enemies and yours! If signals fail you, follow my white plume. It shall lead the way to honour

and victory!" His words were fulfilled. The army of the League was destroyed, and Mayenne escaped with difficulty. Henry's victory at Ivry showed that his final success was only a matter of time; but he could not march on Paris at once on account of the state of the roads, and also for want of money and supplies. These were kept back by his Catholic supporters, as they did not wish his success to be speedy, for they hoped that the difficulties in his way might lead him to accept their faith.

16. *The Sieges of Paris and Rouen, 1591.*—The death of the Cardinal of Bourbon deprived the League of their shadow of a king. But Paris held out, and the *Duke of Nemours*, Mayenne's brother, with all the magistrates and captains, took an oath on the altar of *Nôtre Dame* to die rather than surrender. But they took no pains to provide stores, and, when Henry blockaded the city, the first fortnight caused suffering which he could not bear to witness. He granted a short truce and allowed useless mouths to leave the city, saying, "Paris must not become a graveyard." He even winked at food being introduced, which enabled it to hold out a month longer, until the advance of a Spanish army under *Alexander Farnese, Duke of Parma*, forced him to raise the siege. Farnese was a most able general, and, by refusing Henry's offer of battle, forced him to break up his army, which was worn out by being eighteen months in camp. Then, throwing a Spanish garrison into Paris, Farnese returned to the Low Countries, while Henry, with a few troops, hovered about the capital. Paris was now in great misery, and so hated the Spaniards that any change would have been welcome. The Leaguers were beginning to dislike their allies far more than their enemies, and in the winter of 1591, when Henry was besieging Rouen, Mayenne let pass the chance of cutting him off, out of dislike to co-operate with Farnese. Henry let himself be pursued into *Caux*, where he hoped to destroy the Spaniards between the sea and the Seine. But Farnese brought down boats from Rouen and crossed the Seine at night, retreating to the Netherlands, where he died in a few weeks.

17. *Conversion of Henry IV., 1592.*—Then came a pause, while Philip II. debated the terms of a marriage between his daughter and the young Duke of Guise, and Henry listened to the arguments of the French

clergy. After a five hours' discussion he declared himself convinced, and on the 23rd of July, 1592, he was received into the Roman Catholic Church and heard mass at St. Denys. This gained him hearty support from all loyal Catholics, and made many desert the League. City after city yielded to him, and he was crowned at Chartres on the 17th of February, 1594. Paris was weary of the war, and offered to admit him. He promised all that was asked, and when he made his entry on the 22nd of March, 1594, there were such shouts of welcome, and such an appearance of relief, that he said, "These poor people must have been well tyrannized over." He would not have them kept from thronging him, for, as he said, "They are hungry to see a king." He pardoned everybody, even Madame de Montpensier. But all the most desperate Leaguers had quitted the city and joined Mayenne. Henry was still under the ban of the pope, but the League only lingered on by Spanish support, and the small remnant was more desperate than ever. On the 27th of December, 1592, Henry's life was attempted by a man who had been bred up by the Jesuits, and this sealed their sentence of banishment. But a new pope, *Clement VIII.*, resolved to return to the old Roman policy of balancing France against Spain. He therefore consented to absolve Henry on condition that the Council of Trent should be acknowledged in France, and that the heir of the crown, the young son of the lately deceased Prince of Condé, should be bred up as a Catholic. Then in 1595, under the portico of St. Peter's at Rome, the pope first declared the former absolution at St. Denys null and void, and then formally pronounced Henry to be absolved, and within the bosom of the Church. Still the League and the Spaniards continued the war, and at *Fontaine Française* a skirmish became a battle, in which Henry said he fought not for victory, but for existence; but he gained a complete victory; the Spaniards fell back on the Netherlands, and Mayenne was driven to make peace and extinguish the League, which had so perilously overshadowed the throne for eighteen years. Henry might well say that then for the first time he was a king indeed. But even then his seat was troubled by the dissensions of the different parties in the nation. There was a loyal, peace-loving, part of the nation which rejoiced to rest after forty years of savage civil war. There was also a Huguenot party, which

was grieved at Henry's change of faith, and thought that he was bound in gratitude to reserve his prime favour for them. The more fervent Catholics, on the other hand, looked with distrust at any favour shown to the Huguenots as a token that he was still Huguenot at heart. Meanwhile a few nobles, who had risen either on the ruin of other houses, or, by the favour of the Valois, such as Montmorency, Bouillon, Rohan, Biron, Epemon, were claiming power like that of old feudal times. They expected to make their own terms with a good-natured king who had had to fight hard for his crown, who had besides a foreign war on his hands, an empty treasury, and a wasted and ruined kingdom. To all these difficulties Henry had only to oppose his own keen sagacity, a kindly spirit which honestly sought his people's welfare, a will that, though yielding in trifles, was firm whenever he thought fit, and a sweet, frank, lively grace that no one could withstand. Above all he had the wise head and faithful heart of his Huguenot friend, *Maximilian de Bethune*, Baron of Rosny and Duke of Sully, who had fought for him in all his wars, and was always ready with counsels befitting his own honour and the kingdom's good.

18. End of the War with Spain, 1598.—The most pressing danger was from Spain. An attempt had been made on Marseilles, and repulsed by the young Duke of Guise, now a true Frenchman; but in the north-east the Spaniards, under the *Count of Fuentes*, guided by a fugitive Leaguer, took Calais and Ardres, and surprised Amiens. "It is time to leave off acting King of France, and to be King of Navarre again," cried Henry. But putting forth all his energies he retook Amiens after a six months' siege, and disconcerted the army which was trying to relieve the garrison. Terms of peace were offered, by which Philip II. consented to own Henry IV. as rightful King of France, while all the places taken on either side were restored, and the treaty of *Vervens* was signed on the 2nd of May, 1598, a few months before the death of Philip.

19. The Edict of Nantes, 1598.—The next thing was to settle the position of the Huguenots. Henry was one of the few men of the time who hated persecution, and he owed too much to the Calvinists to throw them over. But they expected much more than he could give, and their principles were in themselves hostile to the authority

which the French kings thought the right of the crown. By law they had no recognized existence ; their marriages were invalid, and their children were not esteemed legitimate. In none of the agreements which had been made had it ever been allowed that every man throughout the kingdom might attend either Catholic or Protestant worship as he thought best. What had been done had always been only to allow the Huguenot worship in certain particular places, and to allow the Huguenots to hold certain particular towns. No one had yet been able to make one law in these matters for the whole nation, and though Henry's settlement came nearer to it than any that had been made before, full religious equality was not even now carried out. Huguenots were indeed admitted to all civil rights and to all offices equally with Catholics. On the other hand, the Huguenot worship was allowed only in the cities where they already had "temples," and on the estates of Calvinist nobles of the higher class, 3,500 in number. To secure impartial justice, chambers were instituted for the Huguenots in the parliaments of all the provinces where they were numerous, and they were allowed to keep all the cities they had garrisoned, to the number of two hundred, of which Rochelle and Montauban were the most important. Thus the Huguenots remained in some sort a distinct people from the rest of the nation, a state of things inconsistent alike with full national unity and with the full establishment of the royal power. The edict by which these changes were made, the famous *Edict of Nantes*, was signed on the 13th of April, 1598, but it was not published for a year, nor registered by the Parliament of Paris till the 2nd of February, 1599. It was looked on as a temporary expedient to allow men's passions to cool, and, as the clergy hoped, to give them time to reclaim the Huguenots. In truth many did become Catholics : some indeed as time-servers, but many because the Church of France was rising out of the slough in which Calvin had found it. Some of the most admirable men who ever lived were then at work in it, and Henry encouraged them, although he continued to make a shameful use of the patronage of the crown. Nobles could obtain by a mere request for their younger sons, even in infancy, bishoprics, deaneries, and abbeys, these last sometimes empty ruins, with large estates attached to them. Henry's own life was a scandal. He had been utterly depraved under the training of Catharine de'

Medici, and his wife Margaret was as bad as himself. But she had never come forward as Queen of France, and lived in a not very respectable retreat. At last their marriage was set aside on the ground that the dispensation had been forged, that the bride had never consented, and that Henry had then been a heretic. Even then it was hard to find a wife for Henry among European princesses, and his choice was another of the house of Medici, *Mary*, the daughter of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, a weak, vain, selfish, and mischievous woman.

20. Administration of Sully, 1600.—The finances were in a deplorable state, and Henry did wisely by committing them to the faithful Sully. He found the royal domain almost entirely alienated, and the revenue far from equal to the expenditure. The collection of imposts was in the most untrustworthy hands, manufactures and commerce were ruined, and husbandry in a wretched state. Sully's clear head and upright temper were set to bring this mass of confusion into order, and did their best to set farmers and peasants to work. In the South mulberry-trees were planted, the breeding of silk-worms and weaving of silk were encouraged, and these employments were eagerly taken up by the Huguenots, a thrifty and industrious race. Trade revived, and was fostered by a treaty with James I. of England; the colonization of Canada began, and cod-fishing and the fur-trade were carried on upon the American coast. For the transport of merchandise at home, roads were repaired, bridges were renewed and built, a great canal system was arranged, stations for post-horses were fixed, and the entrances of towns were planted with avenues of trees, which still in some places bear the name of Rosnys. In truth Henry was the only King of France, except Philip Augustus and Lewis XI., who had any notion of what constituted the welfare and prosperity of a country. He was the only one since St. Lewis who had anything like a heart for his people, and this is his most real claim to the title of the Great.

21. The Treachery of Biron, 1600.—The most difficult persons to deal with were the nobles of the king's party, who had become accustomed to lawless exercise of power during the wars, and held that their merit in supporting Henry could not be too highly rewarded. They thought moreover that the free manners of the camp of the King of Navarre could be kept on by them in the court of the King of France. The most

dangerous of these was the *Marshal Duke of Biron*, an old companion in arms of Henry, who, though amply rewarded, thought his overweening claims neglected. He listened to the persuasions of *Charles Emmanuel, Duke of Savoy*, who during the French troubles had recovered the marquisate of Saluzzo without declaring war. When Henry called on him to resign it, he refused, trusting to support from Spain. The duke then, by the promise of his daughter's hand and of the government of Burgundy, persuaded Biron to engage to lead his master into danger and then go over to him. But Henry was too prompt, and marched so quickly on Savoy, that, before the winter of 1600-1 closed the campaign, all the Savoyard towns on the northern slope of the Alps were in his hands. Spain did not stir, and Charles Emmanuel was forced to give up *Bresse, Bugey*, and *Gex* in exchange for Saluzzo. France thus lost her outlying territory on the Italian side of the Alps; but she gained in exchange the whole left bank of the Rhone from the point where that river turns southward, except the small states, Orange, Avignon, and Venaissin, which were now altogether surrounded by France. Then Biron, fearing that his plots might come to light, made known a part of them, and was pardoned. Still he could not rest, and in 1602 he leagued himself with the Dukes of Bouillon and Epemon and others who chafed against order, and even stirred up the Huguenots by hints that their religion was in danger. Poitou and Guienne were on the point of insurrection, with Spain and Savoy to back them, when Henry received warning, and having a tour in the disaffected provinces, revived all their personal affection for him. He then summoned Biron to his court. He was attached to his old comrade, and longed to forgive him. But this could not be without such full and free confession as might be a pledge for the future; and Biron, thinking that his guilt was unknown, was obstinately silent, though the king twice urged him in private to tell all, and assured him of pardon. When he continued to conceal whatever he could, the king, who had ample proofs of his dangerous designs, dismissed him with the words, "Adieu, Baron of Biron," marking that he was fallen from all his acquired titles. He was tried by the Parliament of Paris, convicted by his own letters, and beheaded in 1602. The Duke of Bouillon, a Huguenot and lord of the little principality of *Sedan*, fled to Geneva on the arrest of Biron. But he soon returned

to Sedan, and made it a rallying-point for discontented Calvinists, till, in 1606, Henry marched against him with a splendid train of artillery, and made him give up the city for four years.

22. **Murder of Henry, 1610.**—This artillery was the work of Sully, who was Master-General of the Ordnance. The great desire of both king and duke was to unite the powers of Europe in an attack on the two branches of the house of Austria in Spain and Germany. A cause of quarrel presently arose respecting the succession to the duchy of Cleves, which was claimed by a Catholic heir on the one side, and a Protestant, the *Elector of Brandenburg*, on the other, whom Henry pledged himself to support. As the dauphin Lewis was still a child, it was needful to appoint a regent before the king went on a campaign. The queen was the obvious person; but she had never been crowned, chiefly because Henry had been warned that there was danger in holding any pageant at Paris. For the old spirit of the League still smouldered there, and toleration of Calvinism was hateful to the Jesuits, who had never disowned the doctrine that it was right to kill princes who were foes to the faith. Mary's coronation had now become necessary, and it took place on the 13th of May, 1610. The next day, as Henry was on his way to visit Sully, a man named *Ravaillac* leaped on the wheel of the carriage and stabbed him to the heart. The murderer was arrested, tortured, and put to death; but he had no accomplices, and had acted on the fanatic idea that it was well to strike an enemy of the Church. Few kings have had more of the elements of greatness than Henry IV. He had hearty love of his people, clear perception of what was for their good, a spirit of toleration, and a power of winning hearts and discerning character which has been seldom equalled. The flaw in his nature, his unbridled licentiousness, was partly a family defect of the Bourbons, partly owing to the evil influences of Catharine de' Medici. Accompanying, as it did, so much that was noble and loveable, the example was of most pernicious effect, both in his own country and on those who were foolish enough to form their manners by those of the French.

23. **The Concini, 1610.**—*Lewis XIII.* became king at nine years old, with his mother *Mary de Medici* as regent. This was in truth the regency of two Italian attendants, one *Concini*, whom Mary created *Marquis d'Ancre*, and his

wife *Leonora Galigai*, who had unlimited power over the weak and foolish queen. Trusty old Sully saw the treasure which he had gathered for his master lavished on these unworthy favourites, and he was treated with neglect bordering on insolence. The war was abandoned, and an alliance was sought with Spain, and strengthened by a contract of marriage for the young king and his sister with the two eldest children of *Philip III.* The Prince of Condé returned, and there was a constant rivalry between him and the Duke of Guise; but they were as inferior to their grandfathers in spirit and purpose as the present Florentine regent was to Catharine in talent and strength of will. Every office in Church or State could be bought by bribes to Madame d'Ancre, and her husband's magnificence was intolerable to the proud old nobility, while the king, naturally a dull and backward boy, was purposely under-educated that their power might the longer endure.

24. The States-General, 1614.—The king was declared of age at fourteen on the 2nd of October, 1614, and three weeks afterwards a meeting of the States-General took place. In the last reign a financier named *Paulet* had increased the revenue by allowing magistrates to purchase the succession to their offices for their families. This right was called *la Paulette*, and the nobles demanded both its abolition and their own continued exemption from taxation. On the other hand, the *Third Estate* or commons, consisting of deputies from the towns, demanded to have the taxes reduced by one quarter, and also a suspension of pensions. Every noble in office about the court had a pension paid out of the taxes, and since the death of Henry IV. the number of these had been doubled. Thus the burghers and peasants paid to feed the luxury of the nobles, who were never taxed at all, and whose exemption belonged not only to the head of each family, but to every branch to the remotest generation. When the brave Auvergnat deputy *Savaron* warned the nobility to their faces of the consequences of such oppression, such an uproar at his insolence arose that the clergy interfered and he made a sort of apology. Still the burgher deputies demanded some account of the expenditure of the sums they paid; but the clergy were the first to exclaim that this would be opening the forbidden sanctuary to the people. After three months' debate, weary of the strife, the nobles and clergy promised that

the taxes should be reduced and pensions suspended, provided the Third Estate would consent to the publication of the Council of Trent and the re-admission of the Jesuits to the University of Paris. The king held a solemn session on the 24th of February, 1615, and received the papers with the many reasonable demands of the Third Estate. The next day, when the deputies were going to meet to hear his answer, they found the doors closed against him, and commands were issued from the king that they should return home. No promises to them were kept, no grievances were redressed, and they could only break up in helpless anger and disappointment. The States-General were never again called together till one hundred and sixty years later, when the terrible consequences came which a better spirit in 1615 might have averted. The whole country was indignant at the favour of Concini, and at the Spanish connexion which reversed the policy of one hundred and twenty years; but Mary de' Medici heeded no remonstrance, and took her children to Bourdeaux, where Lewis XIII. was married to *Anne of Austria*.

25. The Fall of the Concini, 1617.—The influence of the Concini had hitherto put down all opposition. They hoped much from the dull, sluggish nature of the king, never guessing that a young page named *Charles Albert de Luynes* was preparing means of breaking their yoke, and forming a plot in the Louvre among the few whom the young king could trust. Armed with written authority from the king, *De Vitry*, captain of the guards, met Concini at the entrance of the Louvre with the words, "I arrest you," and, as Concini called for help, fired a pistol at him. The words "By order of the king" prevented any one from interfering, and Concini was soon despatched. Then Luynes hurried up-stairs to announce to Lewis, "Sire, from this moment you are a king." The nobles hurried to congratulate their master that he and they were free from a hated tyrant. The queen-mother retired to Blois, and the only other victim was Concini's wife. Her real crime was the taking of bribes, but she was tried before the parliament for witchcraft. When asked by what arts she had gained her power over the queen, she replied, "By the mastery of a strong mind over a weak one." But her fate was fixed, and she was beheaded, and afterwards burned on the 8th of July, 1617.

26. Ministry of Luynes, 1617.—Luynes was created

duke, and was the last Constable of France. He was as rapacious as Concini, and was only less hated because, as he was a native noble, his power was less galling than that of a low-born stranger. Besides, under his guidance the king showed some spirit; he took the part of Savoy against Spain with good effect, and gave his sister *Christina* in marriage to the Prince of Piedmont. The Huguenots had meantime arranged an union of all their congregations in different provinces, their affairs being managed by a central council. Such a network was felt by government to be perilous, and was held to transgress the conditions of the Edict of Nantes. Lewis was therefore led by Luynes to take steps against them. The counties of Foix and Béarn had been placed under the system of Calvin by Joan of Navarre; but her grandson Lewis required the re-establishment of the Catholic Church and the restoration of all the alienated ecclesiastical property. He went in person to make the change, nor does he seem to have met with any resistance. No sooner however had he returned, than, contrary to the king's command and to all good counsel, an assembly was held by the Huguenot chiefs at Rochelle. The king now held that the conditions of Nantes were broken, and took to arms. Rochelle was blockaded by the Duke of Epernon, and Montauban by Lewis himself with the constable. Both sieges were lengthy; fever came with autumn, and Lewis was forced to retreat, not, however, till Luynes sickened and died at the age of thirty-two, in December, 1621. The next year the royal army under Condé took *Montpellier*, and the Huguenots were forced to submit to the loss of all their cities, except Rochelle and Montauban. They were now forbidden to hold meetings for any cause save matters of religious discipline.

27. Cardinal de Richelieu, 1624.—The king was so dull and feeble that he could not live without some one to act for him, and yet he was sure to chafe against any one who had the mastery over him. For a few years there was a struggle between Mary de' Medici and the Prince of Condé, till at last the power was grasped by the far stronger hands of *Armand Duplessis de Richelieu*. This man, who was then Bishop of Luçon, and had been lately created a cardinal, was the ablest statesman in Europe. His force of character made him as powerful as any despotic monarch, and he wielded his might for the aggrandizement of his country abroad and

for the increase of the royal power at home. All his vast abilities were devoted to enlarging the power of the French crown, while he made its actual wearer one of his most obedient servants, not out of love, but out of fear and helplessness. He allowed the king a personal friend, generally an insignificant youth ; but, as soon as the king and his companion showed any signs of a wish to shake off the yoke, the favourite was sure to fall, and the loss was borne with strange indifference. But Lewis was quite untainted with the usual royal vices ; he was religious and conscientious, and failed only from want of capacity and sluggishness of feeling which made him hard and dull.

28. *The Siege of Rochelle, 1626.*—In 1625 the king's sister Henrietta Maria was married to Charles the First of England. George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, who came over to bring the bride to England, gave great offence at court by his presumptuous behaviour towards the queen. He then set on foot secret negotiations with the *Duke of Rohan*, the leading Huguenot noble, and his party were encouraged by the promise of the help of an English force. Troops could easily be landed on the western coast as long as Rochelle was in possession of the Calvinists. Buckingham actually brought a fleet, which took the little island of *Rhé* as a stronghold whence to throw succours into Rochelle. On this the king and cardinal set forth to besiege the place, while Buckingham went back to England for reinforcements. The fortifications were admirable, and the besieged resisted nobly, encouraged by the Duke of Rohan and his mother, who shared the dangers and privations of the people with the greatest constancy. The cardinal on his side was equally determined ; he blockaded the city on the land side, and caused a mole to be built across the harbour to cut it off from aid by sea, a work which lasted far on into the next year. Buckingham was embarking to bring relief, when he was murdered, and the hundred vessels sent under the *Earl of Lindsey* only arrived after the mole was finished. They could attempt nothing, and could only try to obtain favourable terms for the Rochellois. The lives of the besieged were granted, but the old freedom of the city was taken away, and Catholic worship was restored in the principal churches, though Calvinism was still tolerated. But Richelieu could congratulate himself on having taken away a source of disunion, weakness, and disaffection in the kingdom, whose removal was absolutely necessary

for his plans. This was in truth the end of the sixty years of desolating religious wars. Huguenots were still numerous, especially in the South ; but with the taking of Rochelle their political importance ended. The Church of France was also infinitely improved. Men of great piety and talent were working hard to purify her clergy, and doing wonderful deeds of charity. Thus many of the conscientious and high-minded among the Huguenot nobility were converted, while many others became Catholics from less worthy motives.

CHAPTER VIII

POWER OF THE CROWN.

1. *The Mantuan War, 1628.*—Just as the wars with England had resulted in the increase of the strength of the crown of France, so the Huguenot wars had broken the strength of the nobles and of many of the cities. The king could not but reap the benefit when all his interests were in the hands of such a man as Richelieu, who deemed it his highest duty to gather all power in the hands of the sovereign. He himself was ruler in the king's name, hated by every one, but felt to be indispensable. He did not fear to revive the old national policy of resistance to the House of Austria. On the death of the *Duke of Mantua*, the heir to his duchy was *Charles of Gonzaga*, the head of a branch of that family which held the duchy of Nevers and had become wholly French. But both the King of Spain and the Emperor were alike bent on preventing any French prince from again getting a footing in Italy ; the Spanish garrison of Milan therefore seized Mantua, and Charles Emmanuel, Duke of Savoy, was encouraged to set up a claim to Montferrat, so that Casal alone was left to the Duke of Nevers. No sooner had Rochelle surrendered than Lewis XIII. and Richelieu hurried to relieve Casal. And as a Spanish and a German army advanced at the same time, unfortunate Savoy was so wasted between them that the duke is said to have died of grief in 1630. Moreover the plague broke out, and so reduced all the armies that all parties were glad to

accept the mediation of the Pope, *Urban VIII.*, and to leave Charles of Nevers to enjoy his duchy of Mantua.

2. Rebellion of Gaston of Orleans, 1632.—Richelieu's power over the king was hateful to all. The queen mother Mary de' Medici, the king's brother *Gaston, Duke of Orleans*, called *Monsieur*, and *Henry, Duke of Montmorency*, all were bent on overthrowing it. But the cardinal's strength lay in the king's helplessness, and, when Mary bade her son choose between his mother and his servant, she found herself forced to go into banishment, and died in great poverty. Her son Gaston had lost his wife, the heiress of Montpensier, at the birth of a daughter, and, being offended at a refusal to let him marry one of the Gonzaga family, he bound himself and Montmorency, with other foes of the cardinal, to rise and free the king. Help was looked for from both branches of the House of Austria. Gaston then fled to Lorraine, and there married *Margaret*, daughter of *Duke Charles III.* He then entered Burgundy with a hired force, and put forth a manifesto calling on the people to rise against the tyranny of the cardinal. Not a single person joined him till he reached Languedoc, where Montmorency thought his honour pledged to rise in his cause. There was no time for aid to come from Spain; a French army watched the borders of Lorraine, and Gaston and Montmorency fought a hopeless battle at *Castelnaudry* with the royal forces. Montmorency was taken, severely but not mortally wounded, so that he was made a signal instance of the cardinal's severity. He was beheaded on the 30th of October, 1632, and was much mourned, for this rebellion had been his only crime, and he was the last of a brave family. Gaston, who was still heir to the crown, was spared, but was allowed to live in retirement with crippled means. He withdrew for a while to the Netherlands. He was too weak and cowardly ever again to do much mischief, and in 1639 the birth of a dauphin, and two years later of another prince, relieved France from the fear of falling into his hands.

3. Share of France in the Thirty Years War, 1638.—All this time Germany was rent by the Thirty Years War. Richelieu followed the old policy of siding with the foes of the House of Austria, but as yet without taking up arms. But when the campaigns of *Gustavus Adolphus*, followed up by the successes of *Bernhard of Saxe-Weimar* and the defection of *Wallenstein*, had weakened the *Emperor*

Ferdinand II., the cardinal prevented the war from dying out by promising aid to the Protestants. Presently he found a pretext for declaring war. In 1635 the Spaniards entered Trier, and made the Archbishop, who was an ally of France, prisoner. The Prince of Condé marched into the Low Countries, but was driven back by the imperial forces, which ravaged Picardy and threatened Paris. This roused the spirit of the French, and the invaders were forced to retreat before the winter. Still the war was at first a great strain on France. Three armies had to be kept on foot at the same time, in the Low Countries, the Alps, and the Pyrenees, all without any marked success. Gradually however the Duke of Lorraine was so reduced that in 1642 he came to make his peace at Paris; the king's sister Christine, who was regent of Savoy for her son *Charles Emmanuel II.*, likewise made peace. Germany was exhausted by one of the most savage wars that ever was waged, and again peace was talked of, but Richelieu had not gained all he wished, and persevered. A revolt in Catalonia enabled him to attack Spain itself, and he ordered Perpignan to be besieged in the same year. The king set off to be present, and Richelieu followed slowly, almost in a dying state, though as fiercely watchful as ever.

4. **The Conspiracy of Cinq Mars, 1642.**—The present favourite of the king was the *Marquis of Cinq Mars*, a youth who seemed merely vain and frivolous, but whose mind was full of the example of Luynes. Knowing how weary the king was of Richelieu, he meant to make a bold stroke to break his fetters. He had drawn into the scheme his friend *De Thou*, a man hitherto of high character. Again the king was concerned in a plot against his own prime minister, and favoured plans which were supported not only by the disgraced Dukes of Orleans and Bouillon, but by the Spaniards themselves. It is not known how Richelieu discovered the plot; but he acted at once. Cinq Mars was arrested, so were Bouillon and De Thou, and Gaston was threatened till, as usual, he betrayed everything. Cinq Mars and De Thou were tried by the Parliament of Lyons and beheaded together, exciting much pity, while Richelieu was proportionably hated.

5. **Death of Richelieu, 1642.**—So ill was the cardinal that he could only travel in a huge litter, borne by eighteen of his guards, bareheaded. Breaches had to be made in the walls to admit it into the towns as he returned from

Lyons to Paris. For six weeks longer he ruled with the same might and skill as ever, guiding the course of the armies, and fixing the government not only as it was to be after his own death, but after that of the king, whose health, never strong, was fast failing. The Duke of Orleans was not only declared incapable of being regent, but was deprived of his province of Auvergne and of his troops, so as never to be able to attempt further mischief. As his own successor Richelieu seems to have recommended *Julius Mazzarini*, a sharp-witted Italian priest, whom he had trained to understand his policy, namely the exaltation of the crown of France, at all costs. That policy Richelieu had carried out with unflinching sternness, and with ability which has seldom been rivalled. He had trodden down all human rights, whether of single persons, of bodies of men, or nations; but he viewed all this as the simple duty of the prime-minister of France. When the last sacraments were brought to him, he said, "Behold my Judge, before whom I shall soon appear; I pray Him to condemn me if I ever meant aught save the welfare of religion and the state." In this confidence he died on the 4th of December, 1642. He had greatly promoted trade, husbandry, and learning, and he is looked on as a kind of second founder of the great theological college of the Sorbonne. His use of Church patronage was often conscientious, and he encouraged the attempts that were being made to raise the tone of the clergy. The French Academy, which has had so great an influence on taste and literature, was founded by him. But all the benefits of his administration were outweighed by the evils of the overgrown power which he had gained for the crown, and the destruction of almost every check on the royal will. The nobility, deprived of all employments that could train them in wholesome public spirit, had no career open to them but that of soldiers or courtiers, and received pensions from the treasury, which was filled solely from the earnings of the burghers and peasants.

6. **Accession of Lewis XIV., 1643.**—Mazarin carried on the government after Richelieu's death, while Lewis XIII. was wasting away, until he died on the 14th of May, 1643. He was perhaps the weakest and most helpless man who ever had a brilliant and successful reign. He was succeeded by his eldest son, a child of five years old, who was afterwards famous as *Lewis the Fourteenth*. His mother, Anne of Austria, the last of the queens regent of

France, was a dignified, graceful woman of forty-two, pious and conscientious, in the ignorant, narrow-minded manner of an under-educated Spanish princess, kind and warm-hearted, but entrenched in etiquette. She had been cut to the heart by the neglect with which she had been treated, and had given her sympathy to all the endeavours to overthrow Richelieu. The nobility were therefore much disappointed to find that all her confidence was given to Mazarin, who had just been made a cardinal, and did his best to carry on the policy of his predecessor. But the silky manner of the Italian clerk was so unlike the lordly strength of the French noble, that the saying was, "After the lion comes the fox."

7. Campaign of the Duke of Enghien, 1643—8.—The death of the lion had made the Spaniards think that the fortunes of France were lost, and they had invaded Picardy and laid siege to *Rocroy* even before the death of Lewis XIII. The French army, which came to the defence, was led by *Lewis of Bourbon, Duke of Enghien*, eldest son of the Prince of Condé, a master in the new style of warfare. In the course of the Thirty Years War military tactics had become a regular science, and mere hard fighting was comparatively despised. Three days after the new reign had begun, Enghien gained a most brilliant victory at *Rocroy*, in which the whole of the famous Spanish infantry, first formed by Gonzalo de Cordova, were slain as they stood rather than retreat or surrender. The old Count of Fuentes, who had fought against Henry IV., was found dead in an arm-chair at their head. "Were I not to conquer it is thus I would die," said Enghien. He then advanced, and took *Thionville*. He then, together with the other great captain of France, the *Viscount of Turenne*, younger brother of the *Duke of Bouillon*, advanced into Germany. They fought a terrible battle at *Freiburg* with the Austrian general *Mercy*, after which all the cities on the Rhine from *Basel* to *Coblenz* surrendered. There was another victory at *Nördlingen*, where *Mercy* was killed; but Enghien was then kept back by a fever, while *Turenne* pushed on into Bavaria and won another battle on the *Lech*. On his recovery Enghien resumed the command in the Low Countries, took the important port of *Dunkirk*, and gained a splendid victory at *Lens*. The French armies in Savoy and on the Spanish frontier had been pushing on, and the Emperor Ferdinand III. was so weary of the war as to consent to conferences at *Münster*. At last, in

1648, the Thirty Years War was ended by the *Peace of Westphalia*. France now received all the towns, districts, and rights of every kind belonging to the House of Austria in Elsass. This gave her a large isolated territory in the middle of the Empire. It gave her the Rhine frontier for a considerable space, and she even received *Breisach* on the right bank of the Rhine. But Strassburg and the other towns and districts in Elsass which had not belonged to the House of Austria remained independent members of the Empire. At the same time the three bishoprics of Metz, Toul, and Verdun, which had been held by France for nearly one hundred years, were formally ceded by the Empire. Thus France now had a most confused frontier towards Germany. There were pieces of French territory surrounded by the Empire, and pieces of the Empire surrounded by the new French territory. Such a frontier was sure to lead to further conquests, but they did not come on this side just yet. Savoy was included in the treaty, but Spain refused, though the war only languished in the Low Countries.

9. *The Fronde, 1647.*—France was far from peace at home. She was full of jarring elements, which had been kept down by Richelieu's mighty hand, but which could not fail to break forth under a successor who was not only hated, but despised, and only upheld by the queen. The struggle was begun by the Parliament of Paris, in 1647, before the war was over. It must be remembered that the French parliaments were not legislative assemblies, but courts of justice. In the parliament of Paris the spiritual and lay peers of the original French dominion had a right to sit; but the working members were lawyers, most of whom held their offices by purchased right of hereditary succession. The king's edicts became valid on their registry by the parliament. But the parliament itself could originate no laws, and it was an open question whether it could invalidate an edict by refusing to register it. Whenever there had been the slightest opposition, the king had always overruled it by coming in person and demanding its registration, which was called holding a *bed of justice*. The point was at last brought to issue, for the three wars, together with the numerous court pensions, meant to keep the nobles quiet, led to constant calls for money. Tax followed tax, till, on the 15th of January, 1648, the parliament took the great step of refusing to register five newly-devised imposts. At the same time

the four courts connected with the raising and managing of the finances combined to draw up regulations for the future management of the taxes. The queen and her minister were most indignant at such unheard-of presumption ; but the nobility, though hating the "men of the gown" with the senseless pride of their order, hated Mazarin so much more that many were willing to make a tool of the parliament for his overthrow. It was already true that the French government was a despotism tempered by epigrams ; and as speeches and lampoons were launched by persons who tried to hide after they had shot their dart, some one compared them to children with a sling (*fronde*), who let fly a stone and ran away. Thus *La Fronde* came to be the recognized title of the struggle now beginning, in which the friends of the cardinal were called *Mazarins*, and his enemies *Frondeurs*. *Matthew Molé*, the president of the parliament, was a good and upright man, who tried in vain to keep the peace ; but factious speeches alarmed the queen, and, in the midst of the *Te Deum* for the battle of Lens, she sent the lieutenant of the guards to arrest three of the members. Two were taken, but one escaped, and the report spread in Paris, and the cardinal's carriage was attacked, some of his attendants killed, and the streets barricaded. The parliament came in a body to the palace to demand the release of the members, and affairs were in too critical a state for a refusal, either of this or of their other demands. This was the very day on which the peace of Münster was signed ; the royal troops therefore began to come home, and with them Lewis of Bourbon, whom we have hitherto heard of as Duke of Enghien, but whom his father's death, in 1647, had made *Prince of Condé*. He hated Mazarin ; but a quarrel with the Duke of Orleans, together with his feelings as a prince of the blood, made him take part with the court. By his advice the queen carried off her two sons and all the Court to the empty palace of St. Germain in the middle of the night. There she accused the law officers of treason, and sent Condé with his troops against Paris. The parliament replied by a sentence of banishment against Mazarin, closing the gates, and levying troops. With them were Condé's sister, *Anne Geneviève, Duchess of Longueville*, the handsome *Duke of Beaufort*, son of an illegitimate son of Henry IV., and such a favourite with the mob that he was called the king of the market-places ; also the clever, satirical

John Francis de Gondî, coadjutor to his uncle the Archbishop of Paris, and afterwards known as *Cardinal de Retz*. The blockade was not very effective, for Condé's troops were not strong enough to stop the supplies of food, and when Turenne took the side of the Fronde, the Court offered terms of peace. The people of Paris, being weary of the siege, accepted them, though Mazarin remained minister, and things went on much as before. This hollow peace was signed at Renil on the 4th of March, 1649.

10. **The Second War of the Fronde, 1650.**—Condé thought himself the first person in the kingdom, and gave himself intolerable airs. Mazarin determined to have him arrested, and actually made him, as a member of the council, sign an order for his own imprisonment without seeing what it was. He was shut up in the Castle of Vincennes with his brother the Prince of Conti and his brother-in-law the Duke of Longueville. Bouillon was also made prisoner. Their wives did their utmost to deliver them. Madame de Longueville, who tried to raise Normandy, failed, and had to flee in disguise to Holland ; but the Princess of Condé stirred up Bourdeaux, and Turenne united with the Spaniards. The mob of Paris again rose, and fancying that the queen was again going to steal away the king, invaded the palace at night, and insisted on seeing him in his bed. He feigned sleep all the time they were passing through his room, but he was old enough never to forget the insult. Mazarin felt that he must yield to the storm ; he left Paris, set the princes at liberty, and left the country. But he still corresponded with the queen, and directed her in everything.

11. **Third War of the Fronde, 1651.**—Condé's pride and overbearing manners soon gave general offence, and the queen intreated the coadjutor De Retz to assist her in getting rid of him and bringing back the cardinal. Finding out what was going on, Condé came to the parliament with an armed following ; there was a furious quarrel, and the coadjutor was almost killed by the Duke of Rochefoucauld. Condé's pride had set queen, Fronde, and people all alike against him, and in his wrath he went off to Guienne and, according to the usual plea of the rebels, raised an army to free the king from bad advisers. The effect was to make Anne of Austria recall Mazarin, whereupon Paris shut its gates and again declared him an outlaw. There was throughout an absurd element in this war, and never more so than when.

though Gaston of Orleans was standing neuter, his daughter, *Anne Marie of Montpensier*, commonly called *La Grande Mademoiselle*, went to her father's city of Orleans, and closed the gates against the king. Condé made his way into Paris, and by a rule of terror obtained supplies of money. Turenne, now on the side of the court, blockaded the city, and there was a desperate battle in the Faubourg St. Antoine, in which Condé was worsted, and would have been cut off, had not Mademoiselle, by storming and entreating, obtained that the gate of Paris should be left open. Condé showed no gratitude, and behaved with unbearable violence, turning people more completely against him. Mazarin, seeing that his own absence would best allay the passions that had been stirred up, again left France. By this time the real cause had been forgotten in personal hatred, and, when Mazarin was gone, the queen found it easy to make terms with Paris and the parliament. Condé, disdaining pardon, became a traitor to his country, and entered the army of the King of Spain. Peace was restored in 1653. Two years later Mazarin came back, no one making any objection, and in 1657, when the parliament was going to debate on some fresh taxes, the young king walked in dressed for hunting, with a whip in his hand, and said, "Gentlemen, everybody knows what troubles have been caused by meetings of parliament. I mean to prevent them henceforth. I order that there shall be no more discussion of the edicts which I send down to be registered. I forbid the president to allow these meetings, and you to demand them." The lawyers submitted meekly, and so ended the last struggle in which it was sought to maintain any check on the royal power. Resistance had been begun by public-spirited men, but it had been stifled in the mere personal rivalries of courtiers and ladies. Henceforth there was no hindrance to the huge demands of the crown upon the citizens and the peasants. The whole history of the Fronde is a great contrast to the civil war in England, a few years before. It is remarkable for the lightness, selfishness, and pettiness of the chief actors, none of whom, except a few of the law officers, who soon passed out of notice, cared for anything but court intrigue and personal loves and hates.

12. The Battle of Dunkirk, 1658.—The English royal family were exiles in France during the whole war of the Fronde, and until, in 1657, Cromwell entered into an

alliance with France, and made it a condition that the princes should no longer be harboured there. They were then serving in the army of Turenne in the Low Countries, but they now went over to the Spaniards. Condé was commanding there, but he was greatly hampered by the Spanish generals, who did not half trust him. The great struggle was before *Dunkirk*, which Mazarin had undertaken to besiege and make over to the English. Turenne attacked it suddenly, and the Spanish army, hastening up, gave battle to the French, contrary to Condé's advice, on the sandhills round the city called *Dunes*. Turenne gained the victory, and Dunkirk was speedily taken and given to the English.

13. The Peace of the Pyrenees, 1659. — Many other cities of the Netherlands fell into the hands of the French, and *Philip IV.* of Spain, weary of the war, came to terms. He sent his prime-minister, *Lewis de Haro*, to meet Mazarin on the Isle of Pheasants, in the middle of the Bidassoa, where the *Peace of the Pyrenees* was concluded. By this treaty the French frontier was advanced some way into the Spanish Netherlands, taking in nearly all Artois and parts of Flanders and Hainault. At the other end Spain surrendered Roussillon and Cerdagne, bringing the French frontier to the Eastern Pyrenees. Lorraine was given back to its duke; but he had to surrender the duchy of Bar, which united the three bishoprics to the body of the French kingdom. A few years later however Bar was restored to him. Condé was pardoned and made governor of Burgundy. Also Lewis XIV. the next year married *Maria Teresa*, the daughter of Philip IV., who on her marriage renounced all right of succession to the Spanish dominions on behalf of herself and her descendants. His brother *Philip*, who, on Gaston's death, was created Duke of Orleans, and like him was called *Monsieur*, married *Henrietta*, the youngest daughter of Charles I. of England.

14. Rule of Lewis XIV., 1660. — The Peace of the Pyrenees was the last work of Mazarin's life. He died in 1661, and when, the day after, the king was asked who should be consulted on state affairs, he answered, "Myself." He was then twenty-three, and, from that time for fifty-four years, he was his own prime-minister, for, as Mazarin had truly said of him, "there was enough in him to make four kings and one honest man." He had untiring industry, and had learned the secret of the two

cardinals' government, which was to look on France as the greatest country in the world, and on everything in it as intended to serve for the glory of the crown. But his success was greater than theirs. For Richelieu had to work for a dull invalid, and Mazarin for a child, while Lewis XIV. had to work for himself, and believed in himself with the fullest faith. Not only did he reap the results of their labours, but his natural dignity and courtesy, pervaded by the most intense self-assertion, made him be looked on by all ranks during his long reign rather as a demigod than as a king. Princes of the blood, nobles, and all, thought of him as the fountain of honour, and were ready to hang on him in contented dependence. Offices about the court were infinitely multiplied as excuses for retaining them there and pensioning them. The taxes still were frightfully heavy ; but under the good management of the controller-general *Colbert* they were for the time more endurable. This faith in himself was the chief lesson with which Lewis began life. He had been very ill-educated, more from the ignorance and narrowness of his mother and Mazarin than from design, and this perhaps helped to puff him up with the notion of his own greatness, and prevented him from seeing that he had any duties except to himself. He professed a stately and formal kind of religion, but he gave great scandal by his personal vices, and especially by an attempt to give his illegitimate children the position of legitimate members of the royal family. By this time the world had come to look on the king's morals as something out of all common rule, and other princes, dazzled by the splendour of Lewis's court, greatly damaged themselves and their countries by imitating both his tyranny and his immorality. This was a time when France was full of great men. *Colbert*, who was at the head of the finances, contrived by good management to make the royal revenue much larger, while the weight of taxation was less felt, and at the same time opened new branches of industry, Cherbourg glass, Abbeville cloth, Gobelins tapestry, Lyons silk, and he did his best to promote colonization and to create a navy. *Louvois* was minister at war, and *Sebastian Vauban*, an engineer, was a master of the science of regular fortifications. It was also an Augustan age of literature, made memorable by the sermons of *Bossuet*, the devotional works of *Fénélon*, the cynical maxims of *La Rochefoucauld*, the memoirs of

a swarm of clever and brilliant writers, the tragedies of *Racine* and *Corneille*, the comedies of *Molière*, and the brilliant, familiar, letters of *Marie de Sevigné*. In fact there is no period of history so brought forward into a perfect glare as that strange vision of vain glory, the age of Lewis XIV.

15. War in the Low Countries, 1665.—In 1665 died Philip IV. of Spain. His only son *Charles II.* was but four years old, and showed tokens of idiotcy. He was the son of Philip's second wife, and, as an old law in Brabant gave the preference to the daughters of the first marriage over the sons of the second, Lewis, notwithstanding his wife's renunciations, set up a claim on her behalf. He bought Dunkirk from the English, invaded the Netherlands, and conquered the county of Burgundy, which was now commonly called *Franche Comté*. But the rest of Europe took alarm, and a triple alliance was formed against him by England, Sweden, and the United Provinces. Lewis was now forced to make peace, and by the *Peace of Aix la Chapelle*, which was signed in 1668, he restored *Franche Comté*, but kept Lille and the other cities which he had seized in the Netherlands.

16. War with the United Provinces, 1672.—Lewis was disappointed, and especially hated the Dutch, not only for having checked him, but for being a free nation, who had extorted their liberties from the kings of Spain. He resolved to break up the triple alliance, and sent the Duchess of Orleans to win over her brother, *Charles II.* of England, by pensions to himself and his ministers. She succeeded, and Charles and Lewis joined in declaring that the Dutch had insulted their flags. A deadly war was begun by land and by sea. The king himself entered the Dutch territory at the head of 100,000 men, with a splendid artillery, and commanded by the best captains then living, and carried all before him. In three months he had reduced three provinces and forty cities, and demanded intolerable conditions. The mob at the Hague now rose in a fury and murdered their grand pensionary, *John de Witt*, who was inclined for peace. The Provinces were resolved to hold out to the utmost under their Stadholder, *William, Prince of Orange*, the greatest foe of Lewis through life; meanwhile Spain, Denmark, and the Empire were all resolved to check a career that seemed to threaten all Europe, and the English Parliament compelled Charles II. to make peace with the Provinces.

In 1674 was fought at *Seneff* William's first battle and Condé's last. It lasted seventeen hours, and there were 27,000 killed, but was undecided. Turenne was sent to resist the imperial troops which had entered Elsass. In a campaign which was deemed as a marvel of skill, he drove them out of Elsass, and then, to cut off their resources, savagely wasted the Palatinate. While preparing for a battle at *Salzbach*, Turenne was killed by a chance shot from a battery, to the exceeding grief of the whole army. Condé was sent to take the command, but he was in bad health and fought no battle, though he drove the imperial army back when they had advanced on Turenne's death. In the summer the king took the field, when Valenciennes was taken by assault, also Cambray and St. Omer, and the honour of the victory at Cassel was given to the Duke of Orleans. By this time all parties were weary of the war, and peace was made at *Nimwegen* on the 10th of August, 1678. By this treaty France kept Franche Comté and ten imperial towns which still remained in Elsass; in the Netherlands the frontier was again changed, France giving up some points and gaining some others. The young Duke of Lorraine was to be restored, but only on surrendering Bar and submitting to conditions which destroyed his independence. He therefore refused to accept the terms, and remained at the imperial court, while the French occupied his duchy. The terms of the treaty gave an opening for fresh encroachments on the part of Lewis. In each case of a cession being promised, the places "with their dependencies" were mentioned. The other powers expected that there would be a committee of all parties concerned to decide what these dependencies were. But Lewis took upon himself to settle the question; he set up what he called *chambers of reunion*, and by their means helped himself as he chose to towns belonging to the King of Sweden, the Dukes of Würtemberg and Zweibrücken, and the Elector Palatine, all with a view to the favourite dream of the French of making the Rhine their boundary. At last a claim was laid to the greatest town of Elsass, the old free imperial city of *Strassburg*, and, with the connivance of some of the Roman Catholic inhabitants, the city was seized in time of peace. From 1681 to 1870 Strassburg remained a French possession.

17. Disputes with the Pope on the Regale, 1682.—The war still went on in the Netherlands; the Empire

could give no help, as this was just the time of the great struggle with the Turks, who besieged Vienna in 1683, about this time, also, Lewis had wars with the pirates of Africa, and bombarded Algiers. In 1684 truce for twenty years was made with Spain. The same year Lewis picked a quarrel with the commonwealth of Genoa, and the city was bombarded. Peace was made the next year, the proud king having required that the Doge of Genoa should come in person and express the sorrow of the commonwealth for having displeased the King of France. This was also a time of ecclesiastical disputes. The *regale* or royal powers over the Church which Francis I. had obtained from Leo. X. had hitherto only concerned the churches of the older portions of the kingdom. Provence, Guienne, Languedoc, and the Dauphiny had not been included, but in 1673 Lewis put forth an edict placing them under the same rules. *Pope Innocent XI.* strongly resisted, but the king had so entirely mastered people's minds that Condé said that he believed that, if the king turned Huguenot, every one would follow him. The question was a curious complication between the rights of a national Church and the claims of Rome. The clergy strongly took the national view, and in 1682 held a synod, in which four articles drawn up by Bossuet were accepted as the charter of the Gallican Church ; these were that the ecclesiastical power has no authority in the temporal affairs of princes, that a general council is superior to the pope, that the decrees of popes must be ruled by the usages of national Churches, and that they need confirmation by the Church in general. Innocent was much offended, but he durst not entirely break with one so powerful as Lewis XIV. He did indeed refuse to confirm the king's appointments to bishoprics ; but there was no actual schism, and Bossuet at length devised a scheme by which the bishops should govern in the right of the powers conferred on them by their chapters. Lewis excluded the higher clergy from his council, and prevented them from having any political influence. "The state is myself," was one of his sayings, and he carried it out towards the Church just as in other matters. The nobility had nothing to do save as officers at court or in the army ; they had hardly any territorial jurisdiction on their own estates ; the seignorial rights that were left to them meant nothing but the power of forcing dues in money, in kind, and in labour from the poor peasants. The parliament had become

nothing but a court of law, and even the cities were deprived of their municipal rights by the appointment of *intendants*, or stewards of the king, and by the sale of mayoralties for life. A great standing army was kept up, at once employing the nobles and overawing the people. In 1667 a lieutenant of police was appointed, who regulated the watch, firemen, postal arrangements, and the like, and was at the same time an instrument of despotism. *Lettres de cachet*, or sealed letters, had always been in use as means by which the king suspended forms of justice, and kept persons in prison without trial. These letters were employed whenever any one dared to question a measure of any officer of the government. They were even obtained as matters of family discipline; a father whose son displeased him could procure one of these letters, and keep him in prison as long as he chose. It was at this time that the *Bastille*, the great fortress of Paris, became the terror of France. Still, with his magnificent manners and brilliant court, the king kept the whole country in such a state of rapt admiration that no one had the smallest doubt that the whole world was meant to conduce to the glory of Lewis the Great. Nobody murmured at the enormous sums he was laying out on his palace, gardens, and fountains at Versailles, which made peace as costly as war.

18. *Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, 1685.*—In 1683 Colbert died, and from that time Lewis's success began to wane. His queen died the same year, leaving him only one son, a dull, heavy man, in whom Bossuet had never been able to rouse a taste for anything but trifling. But Lewis had already come under a new influence. *Frances d'Aubigné*, the daughter of a scapegrace son of one of the most distinguished Huguenots, had been adopted by a Catholic aunt and bred up in her Church. She had been married at sixteen, out of pity, by a good-humoured and deformed old poet, named *Scarron*, and after his death she was recommended as governess to the king's natural children. She gained an influence over Lewis which never failed for the rest of his life. Under this influence Lewis made a great profession of religion, and he seems really to have improved his private life. She never bore any title higher than that of *Marchioness of Maintenon*, taken from an estate which she purchased; but after the queen's death Lewis married her in private, a fact which was known to every one at Court, though never acknow-

ledged openly. Unhappily, the effect of the quickening of Lewis's religious impressions made him think toleration a worldly weakness. The Huguenots had been powerless since the taking of Rochelle. Many had become Catholics, and the king was told that a little pressure would make the rest follow, and that to root out heresy would be his crowning glory. The crushing of all power of remonstrance in the provincial parliaments had left the Huguenots entirely at his mercy. One ordinance after another made life bitter to them, and deprived them of their rights of human beings. Every excuse was found for taking away their children and bringing them up as Catholics. The greatest misery was caused by quartering on them dragoons, who misused them in every manner that a lawless soldier's fancy could conceive, in order that wretchedness might drive them to conform. Such conversions were counted up, till the king and his statesmen were convinced that the time was come for purifying the kingdom from false doctrine. On the 22nd of October, 1685, the Edict of Nantes was repealed. All public exercise of Calvinistic worship was forbidden. The ministers were banished, under pain of death ; but the people were forbidden to emigrate, under pain of being sent to row in the galleys and labour in hulks among the lowest criminals. All children of Huguenots under seven were to be taken from their parents and bred up as Catholics. The commands were carried out pitilessly ; but the Reformers were more numerous and more staunch than had been expected, and it was impossible to execute them thoroughly. No less than 100,000 of all ranks made their escape in the course of the next five years, chiefly to England, Holland, and Prussia, carrying away with them much of the industry that Colbert had so carefully encouraged. A large body, under a young man named *Cavalier*, whose followers were called *Camisards*, defended themselves in the mountains of the *Cevennes*, and wrung forth favourable terms ; and in the south of France, especially at Nîmes, Montauban, and Montpellier, a considerable number struggled on through distress and persecution for the next hundred years.

19. The War of the Palatinate, 1685.—Henrietta of England, the first wife of Philip, Duke of Orleans, had died young, leaving only two daughters. He had then married *Elizabeth Charlotte*, sister to the Elector Palatine. The Elector died childless in 1687, and his inheritance was

the right of the Duke of Nauburg, his male heir; but Lewis set up a claim on the part of his sister-in-law to lands and fortresses necessary to the security of the Palatinate, and lying in the very heart of Germany. Louvois, who is said to have advised this war in order to remain important to Lewis, gave orders to Marshal Duras to ravage, even in the Palatinate, all that he could not keep. Three days' notice was given to the inhabitants, and their villages, farms, and fields were set on fire in the depth of winter, and the misery and horror were beyond all conception. *Heidelberg* was plundered and the castle walls blown up, and the famous city of *Speyer* was treated in the same way, but the French failed in their attempt to blow up the cathedral. The electoral city of *Trier* had been condemned to the same fate, when Madame de Maintenon succeeded in making Lewis understand something of the real effect of orders easily given at Versailles. He forbade the destruction, and when Louvois pretended to have already sent off the order, he flew at him in a passion and had almost struck him, nor did he ever thoroughly trust the minister, though he retained office till his sudden death in 1691. Lewis had, as usual, the Empire, Spain, Holland, Sweden, and Savoy against him; and his only ally in this war was the Turkish Sultan, Mahomet II. The deposition of *James II.* of England in 1688 gave the English crown to William Prince of Orange, Lewis's most determined enemy, so that all Europe was arrayed against him. The *Marshal Duke of Luxemburg* and *Marshal Catinat* were his best generals, the one commanding the army of the north, the other that which had invaded Savoy, where the Duke, *Victor Amadeus*, was assisted in his defence by his cousin, the famous *Prince Eugene* of Savoy. Eugene had been bred up in the French court, but he had not only fled to Vienna to fight the Turks, but had presumed to laugh at the majesty of Lewis XIV. He had thus erred beyond forgiveness, and became Lewis's bitterest enemy. The terrible strain on the resources of France was now felt as it never had been felt under Colbert, and the expedients for raising money led to extreme distress. Luxemburg was still carrying all before him, and Lewis appeared in person at the siege of *Mons*, in 1691, while Luxemburg gained the victory at *Linze*. The next year *Namur* was taken, and the battle of *Steenkirk* fought. William III. was always beaten in every engagement with the French; but his indomitable

perseverance, and the perfect order he was able to keep up in a retreat, made these victories of little benefit to the French. Lewis seemed always on the point of conquering Flanders, but he never succeeded, and the attempts made to restore James II. to the throne of England were in vain. The French and Irish army was defeated at the *Boyne*, and the French navy at *Cape la Hogue*, in 1691. The war continued till 1697, when the peace of *Ryswick* was concluded. By this Lewis was obliged to give up the cities which he had taken in the Netherlands, and all his possessions and conquests beyond the Rhine, and to acknowledge William of Orange as King of England. He thus gave up Freiburg and Breisach, but kept Strassburg. He also made peace with Savoy, marrying his eldest grandson, the *Duke of Burgundy*, to *Adelaide*, the daughter of Victor Amadeus. /

20. The Spanish Succession, 1700.—The seeds of another war were even then sown. The last of the house of Austria in Spain, *Charles II.*, a man utterly feeble in mind and body, was dying at thirty-eight. It was very doubtful who was the lawful heir, especially as those princesses among whose descendants the heir had to be looked for had in several cases renounced their claim. The heir in ordinary course would have been the Dauphin, as son of Queen Maria Theresa; but she had renounced her claim, and the Spanish *Cortes* or Parliament had confirmed the renunciation. After the children of the Queen of France came the electoral Prince of Bavaria, grandson of another sister, who had also renounced her claim, but whose renunciation was deemed invalid because it had not been confirmed by the Cortes. The reigning Emperor Leopold was further off than either the French or the Bavarian prince, but his mother, through whom he claimed, had made no renunciation. Soon after the peace of Ryswick this question of the Spanish succession began to occupy the mind of Europe, for it was naturally held to be dangerous if all the Spanish dominions should be added to the possessions either of France or of Austria. The great wish of the Spaniards and their king was to keep the whole Spanish dominions undivided, while the statesmen of other nations proposed to divide them among the several claimants. Two treaties of partition were made to this effect, the first by England and France only, the second between England, France, and the United Provinces. In these treaties it was agreed

that the French and Austrian shares should in no case go to the eldest son of either family, but that the French share should go to *Philip*, Duke of Anjou, the second son of the Dauphin, and the Austrian share to the Archduke *Charles*, the second son of the Emperor. By the second treaty, in 1700, it was agreed that the Archduke Charles should have Spain, except the province of Guipuzcoa, the Netherlands, and the Indies, while France was to take the Sicilies and the other Italian possessions, and was then to exchange Milan with the Duke of Lorraine for his own duchy. But when Charles II. died the same year, it appeared that he had left the whole of his dominions to Philip of Anjou. Lewis accepted the bequest as overruling all the treaties, and took leave of his grandson, a meek dull lad of seventeen, with the words, "The Pyrenees are no more." The Emperor of course called on him to remember the treaty. The Grand Alliance against France was now formed by the Emperor and several of the other German princes, England, and the United Provinces. The third great war of Lewis' long life now began, and when Madame de Maintenon said that he had many courtiers but not one general, it was an over-hasty judgement, for *Marshal Villars* was an able leader, and so was the Duke of Vendôme, when once fairly roused from indolence. The ablest was *James Fitzjames, Duke of Berwick*, illegitimate son of James II. by the sister of the *Duke of Marlborough*, the great English leader in this war. But the uncle and nephew never met on the field, Berwick being sent to take care of the affairs of the young King of Spain, whose wife called him "a great dry Englishman, who always looks straight before him." The war was carried on in Spain, Italy, the Netherlands, and Germany, where the Elector of Bavaria took the side of France. Philip V. was generally accepted in Spain, but Catalonia and Aragon took the side of the Archduke.

21. The War of the Spanish Succession.—The war in fact began in Italy on the part of the Emperor, before the Grand Alliance had taken place. Here Prince Eugene withstood Catinat, and afterwards Vendôme, but the war on this side did little but destroy both armies without much affecting the general course of the struggle. In 1702 the war went on both in Germany and in the Netherlands, and a vain attempt on Cadiz was made by the English. In the same year the Huguenots of the

Cevennes revolted under *Cavalier*, which acted as a diversion in favour of the allies. In 1703 the French arms were, on the whole, successful in Germany, but two new powers, Savoy and Portugal, joined the allies. The next years, 1704 to 1706, were among the most important of the war. In the beginning of 1704 Austria itself was in great danger from the French and Bavarians, and the two great generals of the allies, Marlborough and Eugene, came severally from the Netherlands and from Italy. They gave battle to the French marshals, Villars and *Tallard*, on the banks of the Danube, on the 19th of August, 1704. The battle is called by the French *Hochstedt*, by the English *Blenheim*, and it proved a most crushing defeat to France. It cleared Bavaria from the French, and Eugene then went to assist his cousin Victor Amadeus, whose dominions were being ravaged by the Duke of Vendôme, while Marlborough returned to Flanders. Meanwhile Philip the Fifth was reigning over Spain and the Sicilies. But early in 1704 the Archduke Charles tried to enter Spain by way of Portugal. This attempt was unsuccessful, but it was at this point that *Gibraltar* was taken by the English, and has remained in the English possession ever since. In 1705 Charles, with the help of the English under the *Earl of Peterborough*, landed in Catalonia, where the people were strongly on his side, and in the next year he was able to enter Madrid. During both these years the French were also unsuccessful in Italy. They succeeded for a moment in 1706, when Eugene was absent and Vendôme commanded the French. But when Vendôme was recalled and Eugene came back, things were changed. The French had now occupied all the Savoyard dominions except Turin, which was besieged. It was the custom for the princes of the family of Lewis XIV. to make campaigns with the army, without any authority, and safely kept out of harm's way. His nephew, *Philip, Duke of Orleans*, was thus with the army in Savoy, but under the orders of two generals, La Feuillade and Marsin, against whose fatal blunders he remonstrated in vain. There was a great battle at Turin, where Orleans was wounded and Marsin killed; Feuillade tore his hair instead of giving orders, 20,000 out of 50,000 men were lost, and all French designs on Italy were so utterly ruined that Eugene and the Duke of Savoy marched into Provence. Meanwhile the Imperialists drove the French and Spaniards out of the kingdom of Naples. The same year, 1706,

Marlborough won the great victory of *Ramillies* in the Netherlands, and nearly all the Netherlands were won for Charles the Third. But in the meanwhile Philip was restored at Madrid, as Castile would not accept a king from Aragon, and in the next year the battle of *Almanza* settled the fate of the Peninsula. Here the French were commanded by the Duke of Berwick, and the English by *Ruvigny*, Earl of Galway, a French refugee. The *Camisards* who had now been driven out of France were also on the side of the allies. The allies were completely defeated, and it is remarkable that in this the greatest defeat which the English ever met with from the French, the French were commanded by an Englishman and the English by a Frenchman. Aragon and Catalonia were now won for Philip, and the great question of the war as far as Spain itself was really decided. About this time Lewis offered terms of peace, trying to patch up matters with the allies separately. At this moment Charles the Twelfth of Sweden had just appeared in the affairs of Europe, and it was thought that he might play the part of Gustavus Adolphus, and that there might again be an alliance between Sweden and France. But Charles took no part in the war in Western Europe, and in 1708 the war in the Netherlands turned still more strongly against France. Eugene joined Marlborough, and on the 11th of July they encountered Vendôme, with the king's eldest grandson, the Duke of Burgundy, near *Oudenarde*, and the French, again defeated, had to retreat on Ghent. The allies then besieged Lille, which was now within the French border, and which was most ably and bravely defended by *Marshal Boufflers*. Vendôme was forbidden to hazard a battle to relieve him, and Boufflers was forced to surrender, having gained great respect from his generous enemies. ~~Lewis~~ now again offered terms of peace, but he could not bring himself to do all that the allies demanded, as they wished him to help in driving his grandson out of Spain; so the war went on. Villars was now sent to take the command in the Netherlands, and the battle which he lost at *Malplaquet* in 1709 was the best contested of any of those during this war. In 1710 Charles was again successful in Spain and again entered Madrid, but he was driven out and his English allies were defeated by Vendôme at *Villaviciosa*. Several other things now turned in Lewis' favour. The Emperor Leopold, under whom the war began, had died in 1705, and was succeeded by

his son *Joseph*, who was already King of the Romans. Under him the war had gone on vigorously ; but he died in 1711, and his brother Charles, a competitor for the crown of Spain, was chosen Emperor. This greatly changed the position of affairs : for if Charles were to add Spain to the Empire and the hereditary states of Austria, it might be as dangerous as to allow a French prince to reign in Spain. England and the United Provinces thus lost their chief interest in supporting the Austrian candidate, and at the same time political changes in England drove the Duke of Marlborough and those who supported him from power. All sides were now much more inclined for peace than before ; for France peace was a matter of sheer necessity, the country was quite ground down and the population sensibly lessened by the long wars and the heavy taxation.

22. **The Peace of Utrecht, 1713.**—Home troubles had come at the same time to crush the old king. His only son the Dauphin died in 1711. The new Dauphin, the Duke of Burgundy, had been the pupil of the most excellent priest in France, *Fénélon*, Archbishop of Cambray in the Netherlands, which by the conquests of Lewis had become French territory. Fénélon had fallen into disgrace, as it was given out, on account of his theological views, but really for having dared to put forth worthy notions of a king's duty towards his people, as seen in his classical romance of *Telemachus*. But the new heir was carried off in the early spring of 1712, with his young wife and eldest child, leaving the king alone with a sickly great-grandson of three years old. After him, as the king of Spain had renounced his succession, the next heir was *Philip, Duke of Orleans*. He was half suspected of having poisoned the father, mother, and child ; the yells of the mob followed him, but in truth he was kind-hearted and easy-going, and would never have done such an act for the sake of a position full of care and trouble. Peace was more than ever needful. Philip V. remained king of Spain, but the Low Countries and the Netherlands were ceded to the Emperor Charles VI., as head of the house of Austria. The Two Sicilies were divided ; the Emperor had Naples, while the island was given to Victor Amadeus of Savoy. The principality of *Orange* was now added to France, so that that kingdom now had all the land between the Rhone and the Alps, except the small territory kept by the pope. These were the main provisions of the treaty

which was signed at *Utrecht*, in 1713, by all the great powers of Europe, and closed the last of the wars of Lewis XIV. The first had been all success, the second full of fruitless victories, the third of ruinous defeats.

23. **Death of Lewis XIV.** 1715.—Sad and weary was the court of the king who had survived two generations of great men, but who still trod his dreary round with unabated industry. He had no one near him to trust or love but Madame de Maintenon, who was older than himself, sick at heart of the dull display around, and complaining to her friends of having to amuse an unamusable king. There were now but few Huguenots to persecute; so the king and his wife fell on the *Jansenists*, a devout and learned party within the Church itself, which carried the doctrines of St. Augustine to excess, and were less submissive to the pope than the rest. As a work of piety, the famous monastery of the nuns of *Port-Royal* was destroyed. Lewis appointed a council of regency, in which Orleans should have but one vote, and he left the personal care of the child who was to succeed him to the *Duke of Maine*, one of his own natural sons, who had been made legitimate. To the last the old king toiled on, even when confined to his bed, still remaining the dignified, self-collected, man that he had been all his life, telling the poor infant at his bed-side to abstain from wars and buildings, to remember his God, and to try to relieve his people, as he himself had never been able to do. So, on the 1st of September, 1715, in his seventy-seventh year, died Lewis XIV. He was far from having been the worst man of his race, but he was probably the most mischievous, by the wide-spread influence of his wonderful ascendancy of character and his utterly false views of the glories and duties of a king.

24. **The Regency, 1715.**—The choice of the Duke of Maine was the best Lewis XIV. could have made as a guardian for the poor babe, who in purple leading-strings was shown to the people as *Lewis XV.* But he was hateful to the princes of the blood and the nobility, who were bitterly jealous of his position. The will was merely murmured over in Parliament, and Philip, Duke of Orleans, was declared regent as his birthright. He was one of the few clever men of his family, but utterly without principle and shamelessly profligate in his own life. Still he had his good points. So far as he troubled himself to govern, his native ability, kindness of heart, and a certain origi-

nality of mind made his measures good, and he is specially to be remarked as one of the few French rulers who have been steady in friendship with England. But he hated trouble, and left much to his former tutor, the *Abbé Dubois*. This man was one of the greedy and vicious adventurers who swarmed about the court, who had received the tonsure in order that preferment might be heaped upon them, but who owned no clerical duty. Dubois in the end became Archbishop of Cambray and a Cardinal, and, bad as his character was, his statesmanship, including friendship with England, was not to be denied.

25. **The Quadruple Alliance, 1718.**—It is singular that, so soon after a French prince had been set on the throne of Spain, the two kingdoms of France and Spain should be at war with one another, but so it was. Spain was now ruled by the Cardinal Alberoni, whose object was to win back for the Spanish crown all that it had lost. To hinder this was formed in 1718 the *Quadruple Alliance* between England, France, the United Provinces, and the Emperor. A war followed, in which Spain actually won back Sicily; but she could not hold up against the allies together, and in the end, in 1720, Spain had to agree to the terms of the Quadruple Alliance, and to keep herself within the limits of the Peace of Utrecht. The Emperor and the King of Sicily, as the Duke of Savoy had now become, exchanged the islands of Sardinia and Sicily, and the Dukes of Savoy were henceforth Kings of Sardinia. Meanwhile the wild experiments of *James Law* the Scotchman, who may almost be called the father of speculation, at raising money on national credit, and on schemes for a great loan on a settlement on the Mississippi, did but increase the general distress by the ruin of those who had been led into his schemes.

26. **Death of the Regent Orleans, 1723.**—In 1723 the king, being fourteen years old, was declared of age, but the authority of the Duke of Orleans and Dubois went on, but before the year was over they both died. The *Duke of Bourbon*, grandson of the great Condé, became head of affairs. He so hated the Spaniards as to send home the little Infanta, who was actually at Paris, being bred up as the future wife of Lewis XV., that the boy might wed at once, hoping that the birth of a Dauphin might disconcert the hopes of returning to France which had filled Philip the Fifth's hopes of the crown of France. The lady was not to be either too high-born or too clever, lest she should

rule her husband, and, among the ninety-nine marriageable princesses of Europe, Bourbon chose *Maria Leczinski*, the daughter of Stanislaus Leczinski, who had been elected King of Poland, and afterwards deposed in the wars between Sweden and Russia. *Fleury*, Bishop of Frejus, who had been the king's tutor, and was an upright old man, now became prime-minister. In his time France engaged in the war of the Polish succession, which began in 1733, and which, oddly enough, was chiefly fought in Italy. When the crown of Poland became vacant in 1733, France procured the re-election of the king's father-in-law Stanislaus, but he was driven out by the forces of the Emperor Charles and of Anne, Empress of Russia. France now formed a treaty with Spain and with *Sardinia* (as we must now say instead of *Savoy*), against the Emperor, who was not able to withstand so many enemies. The Sicilies were conquered by Spain, and by the *Treaty of Vienna* which ended the war, a Spanish prince, Charles the Third, was established as king of the Two Sicilies. It was further agreed that the Duke of Lorraine should give up his duchy to King Stanislaus, on whose death Lorraine should be added to France, while the Duke of Lorraine received the succession, and very soon the actual possession, of the grand duchy of Tuscany. Thus Lorraine, which France had been so long aiming at, was at last brought within her grasp; but the duchy was not actually annexed to France till the death of Stanislaus in 1766. By the same treaty France also guaranteed the *Pragmatic Sanction* of the Emperor Charles the Sixth, of which we must now speak.

27. **The War of the Austrian Succession.**—The two sons of the Emperor Leopold, Joseph and Charles, who followed him as emperors, had agreed by a *family compact* on a rule of succession for the hereditary states of the House of Austria. If Joseph had no son, Charles was to succeed, and again, if Charles had no son, Joseph's daughters were to succeed before those of Charles. As Joseph had no son, Charles succeeded in Hungary, Bohemia, Austria, and the other hereditary states. His great object then was to set aside his nieces, and procure the succession of his own daughters. To that effect he put forth a decree called a *Pragmatic Sanction*, which he got confirmed by the States of the Empire, and guaranteed by most of the European powers. He also caused his nieces to resign their claims when they married. When

he died in 1740, the succession, according to the Pragmatic Sanction, belonged to his eldest daughter, *Maria Theresa*, who was married to *Francis*, first Duke of Lorraine and then Grand Duke of Tuscany. But claimants appeared on all sides for the hereditary states. France took the part of *Charles Albert, Elector of Bavaria*, as the descendant of a daughter of Ferdinand I., and sent two armies to his aid under Noailles and Belleisle, while England was the ally of Maria Theresa. The Elector of Bavaria was brought to Prague by Marshal Belleisle and crowned King of Bohemia. In 1742 he was elected Emperor as *Charles VII.* But Maria Theresa's high spirit had won her the hearts and swords of the Austrians and Hungarians. Fleury died just as all Europe was becoming involved in the war, at ninety years old, in 1743, and there was no one to prevent the wicked court from working their will in corrupting the king. From this time the king gradually sank into utter and gross profligacy, and allowed his mistresses to rule in matters of state and warfare. Lewis XIV. believed in glory—vain-glory though it was ; Lewis XV. believed only in pleasure, and that of a rude gross sort, fitted to reach his slow weak senses, so that while all the cumbrous ceremonial of the court was carried on in public, his diversions were such as the meanest and most vulgar alone could have endured, and his familiar speech the coarsest slang.

28. The Campaigns of Lewis XV., 1743.—Marshal *Belleisle*, who had been left unsupported at Prague, was besieged there by the Austrians, and surrendered. Noailles was defeated in 1744 at *Dettingen* by George II. of England ; and Lewis was persuaded by one of his mistresses, *Madame de Chateauroux*, to put himself at the head of his army. At Metz however he fell ill of a fever, and was in great danger ; while the people, who had been long trained in passionate attachment to the king, were almost frenzied with anxiety, and kissed the very boots of the courier who brought tidings that he was recovering. During his danger he was attended by the Bishop of Soissons, a son of Berwick, an honest priest, who was the only person who uniformly warned him of his sins, and therefore was always kept at a distance from court. Madame de Chateauroux died that same year, but the brilliant and clever *Madame de Pompadour* took her place, and held sway over the whole court. She wanted the king to be distinguished, and he continued the war at the beginning of the year 1745.

Meanwhile the face of affairs was changed by the death of Charles VII. After some months Francis of Tuscany, the husband of the Queen of Hungary, was chosen Emperor. Henceforth Maria Theresa, a queen in her own right and the wife of the Emperor, was known as the *Empress-Queen*. Lewis went himself to Flanders with his son, the Dauphin, to join the army with his marshal, *Count Maurice of Saxe*. He was a natural son of the late Elector of Saxony and King of Poland *Augustus the Strong*, and was the best general in the French service. He was now acting against George II. and his son, the *Duke of Cumberland*, and a terrible battle was fought at *Fontenoy*, in which the victory was with the French, and enabled them to take *Tournai*. To call off the English the French assisted *Charles Edward Stewart* in his attempt upon the throne in 1745, and thus caused the Duke of Cumberland to return to England. In 1746 the imperial troops invaded Provence, as those of Charles the Fifth had done, but they were called back by one of the most remarkable events of the war, when the people of Genoa, without any help, either from France or from their own aristocratic government, drove out the Austrian garrison that held them down. In 1747 Marshal Saxe again defeated the Duke of Cumberland and the Prince of Orange at *Lawfeldt*, on the borders of Holland, forcing several of the best fortified Dutch cities to surrender. The next year he was on the point of taking Maestricht, when George II. and Lewis XV. succeeded in coming to an understanding and persuading the Empress-Queen to agree to a general peace.

29. **The Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, 1748.**—The peace was signed at *Aix-la-Chapelle*, at the close of the year 1748, by which the Empress-Queen was confirmed in her possessions, except that King *Frederick II.* of Prussia still kept Silesia, which he had seized at the beginning of the war. Her husband Francis was acknowledged as Emperor by all the powers. Peace however could do little for France. The system of Lewis XIV., scarcely bearable in his able and vigorous hands, was utterly intolerable under a helpless, selfish being like his great-grandson. The nobles still thronged the court, and received pensions for all sorts of menial or imaginary offices about the king's person, spending however far more than they received, and raising their means from their tenants. These unhappy peasants, together with the burghers,

bore the whole brunt of taxation, and supported alike king, nobles, and clergy. Their crops might not be housed till the tax-gatherer, the tithe-gatherer, and the lord of the manor had each picked out his share. So many days of their labour in the height of the season were due, some to the king's work on the roads, some to the lord's own fields. On the death of the farmer the lord took the best beast on the farm, and there were hosts of other dues to carry off the scanty supply that could be obtained. Not only might no one but the lord kill the game, but no one might scare it away or go into the fields when they might disturb the nests. Corn might be ground nowhere but at the lord's mill, with heavy dues of course; and such produce as there might be could not be taken to market in the next town without paying *octroi*, or duty at the gates. Worst of all was the *gabelle*, or salt-tax, which had weighed on France for four hundred years. There was no eluding it. Every member of a family, down to the new-born babe, was rated for so much salt, and the tax had to be paid, whether it were used or not; and, after all, the royal salt was so dear and useless that nothing was so much smuggled. Every province was still like a separate country from the rest, and the boundaries could not be passed without passports, going through a custom-house and paying duties. Each province too had a governor, a nobleman appointed by the king, with a staff of attendants, all of course paid by the wretched provincials. The old principle was still faithfully acted out: Jacques Bonhomme's back is very broad, he pays for all. Jacques Bonhomme's back was breaking at last. Ages of bad cultivation of small holdings made crops uncertain, and there was frequent famine. *Lewis, Duke of Orleans*, a good and pious man, a son of the wicked regent, once brought a loaf of black uneatable bread, full of sawdust, to the council, and, placing it on the table, said, "See, Sire, what your subjects eat:" but he was met with sneers on all sides. Indeed it would have taken supernatural gifts to break through the deadlock of the whole country. Pious people gave alms which only relieved distress for a moment, and thoughtful people, scholars and dreamers, threw themselves into the past. They studied the history of the great republics of Greece and Rome; they forgot that these too had their slaves, and, in the corruption of Church and nation, they fancied that to go back to classic

philosophy and classic freedom would bring back healthy life and vigour. Original thought, which had been crushed by the Church of Rome, was beginning to force its way in wild theories which took for granted that, because everything existing was evil, every first principle was also evil. Persecution was as bitter as ever. The Huguenots were still hunted down, and the Jansenists were even worse treated by the profligates around Lewis XV.; but the perils of irreligion were not suspected, and, while Protestant books were burnt, infidel books were freely read. The Jesuits were alive to the danger; but the whole of Europe was striving to put down this order, which was hated by the king and Madame de Pompadour for their resistance to their vices. An attempt on Lewis's life by a madman named *Damien*, in 1756, was charged on their friends, and the king joined in expelling them and demanding their suppression from the pope.

30. The French in India and America.—Meanwhile a great French dominion had been growing up in distant parts of the world, which about this time began to have an influence on European affairs. Alike in North America, in the West Indies, and in India, France had won a great power, which about this time was largely transferred to England. In North America several unsuccessful attempts at colonization were made in the sixteenth century; and from the beginning of the seventeenth the French had a firm hold on that continent. In 1603 began the colonization of *Canada* or *New France*, and the foundation of Quebec. The French claimed the whole inland region along the great rivers, St. Lawrence and Mississippi, while the eastern coast, from New England southwards, was colonized by other nations, chiefly the English. It naturally followed that there was a great rivalry between the English and French in North America, that disputes often arose, and that, when there was open war between the two nations, North America was one chief seat of it. Thus the peninsula called *Acadie* or *Nova Scotia* changed hands several times, and finally passed to England along with the island of Newfoundland at the peace of Utrecht. The chief French insular possession in these parts was now the island of *Cape Breton*; on the mainland France had *Canada* at one end and *Louisiana* at the other (both names being taken in a much wider sense than they are now), with a vague claim over the territory between them. During the war of the Austrian Succession Cape Breton

was won by the English, but it was restored to France by the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle. Among the West India islands the French too in the course of the seventeenth century founded several important plantations, the chief of which were *Guadaloupe*, *Martinique*, and *Grenada*. In India too, where most of the maritime nations of Europe had some settlement, France began with one at *Surat*, which was settled by the French East India Company in 1668, through the policy of Colbert. Presently the French gained *Pondicherry*, and in 1720 the island of *Mauritius* or the Isle of France. In short the French at this time quite outstripped the English, and even the Dutch, in India. They had settlements at several points, a considerable territory, and were able to wage war with the native princes. In Lewis XV.'s time France had two men of great ability in the east, *Labourdonnais*, governor of Mauritius, and *Dupleix*, founder of *Chander-nagore* and governor of the settlements on the mainland. In 1746, during the war of the Austrian Succession, Labourdonnais took the English settlement of Madras, which was restored at the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle. But the two leaders did not agree with one another, and neither of them was appreciated at home. Labourdonnais came home only to be imprisoned and neglected. Dupleix meanwhile went on founding a great dominion in India, and the forces of the two East India companies often met in arms as allies of various native princes, even when England and France were not at war. At last in 1754 Dupleix was recalled and his property confiscated, and the hopes of France becoming the leading power in India came to an end.

31. The Seven Years' War, 1756.—These struggles in Asia and America were finally merged in the next European war in which England and France took a part, that called the *Seven Years' War*, which began in 1756. Here the chief powers seemed to have changed places since the war of the Austrian Succession. France and England were still opposed to one another, and Austria and Prussia were still opposed to one another, but this time France was on the side of Austria, and England on that of Prussia. *Kaunitz*, the minister of the Empress-Queen, saw that the growing power of Prussia was really more dangerous to the Austrian dominion than France was; so all kinds of means were taken to win over France to the Austrian side. The Empress-Queen herself stooped

to treat Madame de Pompadour as a friend. On the other side of his dominions, the King of Prussia was threatened by *Elizabeth*, Empress of Russia, and by *Augustus*, King of Poland and Elector of Saxony, whose queen was a daughter of the Emperor Joseph. He was thus hemmed in on all sides by an alliance of women, and England was his only ally. This was the time when Frederick showed his great military genius in contending against so many enemies. His great victory over the French was that of *Rossbach* in 1757. But between England and France the war was chiefly carried on in distant parts of the world, where, in 1759, Canada was conquered by the English and various successes won by them in other parts. In the latter part of this war the minister of Lewis, or rather of Madame de Pompadour, was the *Duke of Choiseul*. In 1761 he formed the *Family Compact* between all the branches of the House of Bourbon, those of France, Spain, the Sicilies, and Parma. This treaty was concluded with King *Charles III.* of Spain, the same who had reigned in the Sicilies. About the same time the ministers of the new King of England, *George III.*, were inclined to peace, and a new Emperor of Russia, *Peter III.*, was a special admirer of the King of Prussia, and at once made peace with him. Thus things were gradually tending to peace, and in 1763 peace was made by all the contending powers. By the *Treaty of Paris* between England and France, France gave up all claim to Canada, Nova Scotia, and Cape Breton, but kept Louisiana, with the Mississippi for a boundary. But this she engaged by a secret treaty to give up to Spain. France kept nothing else on the North American coast, except a few small islands for the benefit of her fishermen. Thus England became the great power in North America, and room was made for the growth of the United States. In the West Indies France received again some of the islands which had been taken by the English; but England kept Grenada, St. Vincent, Domenica, and Tobago. In India France kept only her old commercial settlements, all the conquests made since 1749, when the war began between the two companies were given up. Thus in India as well as in America all hope of the chief power passed away from France. On the continent of Europe also she gained nothing. Lorraine, as we have seen, became finally joined to France in 1766, and in 1769 the island of *Corsica* was added to the French

dominions. This had been a possession of the commonwealth of Genoa, but the people were now in revolt against their oppressive masters. The same year Louisiana was taken possession of by the King of Spain. Choiseul also seized on the pope's city of Avignon.

32. **Death of the Dauphin, 1765.**—Even peace could do little good to France, for the king lavished all the sums that could be wrung from the poor on his abominable amusements. The state of the country was every day growing worse and worse; there were constant disputes with the Parliaments, while on the other hand the Parliaments themselves pronounced many unjust and cruel sentences. The good Dauphin, always neglected and despised, died in 1765, leaving five children, three sons and two daughters. His eldest son Lewis, now Dauphin, was in 1770 married to *Marie Antoinette*, the youngest daughter of the Empress-Queen. He would fain have become acquainted with the provinces of the kingdom to which he was to succeed; but the king showed the same jealousy of him as of his father, and as to the dangers that threatened the throne, Lewis disposed of them all by saying, "things would last his time." Meantime the writings of *Voltaire* were changing men's minds as to all existing institutions; those of *Rousseau* were building up new theories of a return to the simplicity of nature, and those of *Diderot*, *Helvetius*, and the Encyclopædists, who were engaged on a grand cyclopædia of arts and sciences, were opening new worlds of thought contrary to all the opinions that had as yet been held sacred.

33. **Death of Lewis XV., 1774.**—The purchase of Corsica and the marriage of the Dauphin were the last acts of the ministry of Choiseul. About the time of the marriage, *Madame du Barri* took the place which had been before held by *Madame de Pompadour*, and under her influence the king became jealous of Choiseul and took in his place the *Duke of Aiguillon*, the Count of *Maurepas*, and Chancellor *Maupéou*. Choiseul was missed when the kingdom of Poland was dismembered by Russia, Austria, and Prussia, without so much as a word being said to her ancient ally in France. So low had Lewis XV. sunk that he could not even protest. He was sixty-four years of age, and feebly aware that his life had been a miserable mistake; but it was too late, and he was too fast bound in the trammels of his own vices to change. On the 10th

of May, 1774, he died of small-pox, having shown to the very utmost the miserable effects of centering all power in one man, effects equally miserable both to himself and to his country.

CHAPTER IX.

THE GREAT REVOLUTION.

1. Earlier Years of Lewis XVI., 1774.—Every one felt that change must come with the new reign, for the whole country was in a state of ruin and bankruptcy, the nobles corrupt, and the people wretched. No one felt it more deeply than the new king, *Lewis XVI.*, but he was not the man who could save his country. The vice and selfishness of the Bourbons had not descended to him, but he had none of the fire and genius, nor even of the readiness of speech and wit, which had distinguished many of the line. Though no coward, all his courage was passive. He was industrious, honest, tender-hearted, and religious, but there never lived a man less capable of taking the lead in troublous times. His wife, Marie Antoinette, had all the charms and all the fire and spirit which he needed, but her gifts did but add to the evil. The long wars between France and the House of Austria had made the marriage unpopular, and Marie Antoinette, as a lively girl, bred in a court where easy, simple manners prevailed, shocked the nobility by her mirthful scorn of the cumbersome etiquette of the court of Lewis XIV. She had too a young queen's natural love of dress and gaiety, and, in the frightful state of the court, no wish of hers could be indulged without monstrous expenditure. Peasants were living in windowless, chimneyless hovels, feeding on buck-wheat bread, clad in rags, and paying away all the produce they reared. They were told that it was for the king and queen. The old loyalty died out, and the queen was hated with ever-increasing virulence for everything she did or did not do. And reforms were the harder, since to take away offices, however useless, was absolute

starvation of many of the nobles, who, debarred from all professions save the clerical and the military, lived on these court pensions.

2. **Maurepas, 1775.**—Lewis began by abolishing torture, and making the wise and excellent *Turgot* controller-general of the finances. But the old *Count de Maurepas*, the minister, who was only bent on patching things up to last his own time, had all the habits of office and knowledge of business which made him necessary to a new king. He set himself to prevent change, showing all the difficulties of suppressing offices which people's forefathers had bought for their families for ever. Lewis had said, "Nobody loves my people but M. Turgot and myself:" but he became alarmed by Maurepas's representations, and let Turgot be dismissed, taking in his stead, in 1777, *Necker*, a banker from Geneva, who was thought to understand money matters better than any one else in Europe. He was an honest man, and there was so much trust in him that large loans were made to government, for which he managed to pay interest regularly, while endeavours were made to lessen the expenses, but not enough to be of any real service.

3. **The American War, 1778.**—The longing for change was fed by the sight of what was going on in America, where the endeavour of England to enforce taxes and duties had led to armed resistance on the part of the colonists. The *Marquis Gilbert de la Fayette*, an ardent young man, fled from home to fight in the ranks of the Americans, in whose valour and simplicity the French enthusiasts beheld a return to the heroism of ancient Greece and Rome. The government, after some hesitation, concluded an alliance with the Americans, and thus became engaged in a war with England, in which France was joined by Spain and the United Provinces. Off the Isle of Ushant a doubtful naval engagement was claimed as a victory by France; but at St. Lucie, in the West Indies, *Count de la Grasse's* fleet was broken by Lord Rodney, and in the East Indies *Pondicherry*, the chief French factory, was taken. But the steady resistance of the Americans made the English at length decide on acknowledging their independence, and on the 20th of January, 1783, a general peace was signed. *Benjamin Franklin*, the American printer, a man of much science as well as plain sturdy wisdom, came to France as ambassador, and the Parisians, perfectly sick of their unnatural life of

display and etiquette, were crazy with enthusiasm for his plain garb and grave, simple manners.

✓ 4. Necker, 1781.—On the first day of the year, 1781, Necker gave in his budget, where the receipts, for the first and only time, exceeded the expenditure by 10,000,000 livres. Every one was so much delighted that Maurepas became jealous of Necker, and set the king against all his plans, until the banker, finding that no confidence was given to him, resigned, and was much regretted as one of the hopes of the nation. The war increased the debt which he had begun to pay off, and the king put down as much as he could of his guards, and other attendants: it made little difference. Maurepas died soon after, and with him went that power of management and of keeping things together which belongs to an old practised statesman, to whom administration is a sort of trade. Calonne, who had come into office, was a mere courtier, who felt only for the nobles, and not for the people, and who stifled all the dawning scruples of the queen as to vain expenses. What they were may be gathered from the fact that the household of her newborn daughter was with great difficulty reduced to *only eighty* persons. Under Calonne's management the public debt had enormously increased; and all this the people imagined to be the effect of the extravagance of the queen. They nicknamed her *Madame Deficit*, while Calonne declared that all was the fault of Necker.

164 5. The Assembly of Notables, 1787.—A new plan of taxing was evidently necessary, and it was hoped that Lewis would call together his *States General*, as had not been done since the time of Lewis XIII. But he was afraid to do this, and only called the *Notables*, who had not met since the days of Henry IV. These were persons chosen by the king, mostly from the nobles and clergy, a few only from the commons. They had no desire to tax themselves, and only abused Calonne, so that he threw up his office, and went into exile. Brienne, *Archbishop of Toulouse*, then became minister, and a stamp duty was devised, on which the notables would give no opinion; but the Parliament of Paris was so resolved on forcing the king to call together the *States General* that it refused to register the edict. Lewis banished its members to Troyes, but they still held out. He then held a ~~bed of justice~~, but was defied to his face by his cousin Philip, duke of Orleans, who had thrown himself into the new movement. He sent the duke to his estates, and

Pis de justice

tried to arrest *Espremenil*, his chief adversary, but in vain ; the other members would not give him up, and when he was called for, answered, " We are all *Espremenils*."

6. **The States General, 1789.**—Seeing no other hope, Louis recalled Necker to his cabinet, and called together the States General at Versailles on the 5th of May, 1789. These States consisted of representatives of the nobility, clergy, and *Tiers État* or commons ; but nobody knew the bounds of their powers, and in the universal sense of wrong and vehement desire for the voice of the people, the Third Estate was inclined to stretch them to the uttermost. The first question was whether the verification of powers, that is, the examination of the return of each member, should take place by orders or all together. The Third Estate presently took the name of the *National Assembly*. The king meant to appear among them, and the great hall of the Third Estate was being prepared, when its members tried to enter. Finding it closed, they thought violence was intended, and, repairing to a tennis court near at hand, swore to stand by one another till they should have framed a constitution. The king insisted on the three orders keeping apart, but the Third Estate remained, and the king sent a message bidding them withdraw. The answer came from the *Count of Mirabeau* : " Tell your master that we are sent here by the people, and that his bayonets alone can drive us from our post." They then voted that the person of a member of the National Assembly was sacred. The king presently yielded, and the nobles and clergy joined the Third Estate in the Assembly. They then began to consider ~~of~~ their reforms. Some of the nobles and clergy were against all change which could alter their positions. These were called aristocrats, and were regarded with great disfavour. But many of both these orders and also of the Third Estate would have made cautious and prudent reforms. The party of change included, besides most of the Third Estate, such nobles and clergy as were ready to abandon those of their privileged rights which they felt to be mischievous. The most extreme of the democrats held that all men are naturally equal, that hereditary rights were an usurpation, and that kings, priests, and nobles were alike tyrants over the will, the conscience, and the person. These were afterwards called *Jacobins*, from a club which met at the old convent of the Jacobin friars, and in which they gained the upper hand. They had much power over the

mob of Paris, and worked them up to a fury of impatience to see the changes which they fancied would bring plenty and freedom to all. In July the king, in alarm, drew the army nearer and dismissed Necker, and it was at once reported that he was going to put down the National Assembly by force of arms. This made the respectable men of the city enrol themselves in a force which took the name of the *National Guard*; they wore red-blue-and-white scarves and cockades, choosing for their captain La Fayette, who was enthusiastic in the cause of liberty.

7. The National Assembly, 1789.—On July 14th, on a report that the cannon of the Bastille had been turned towards the city, the mob, in a fury, rushed on the old prison, and forced its commander and garrison to surrender. They pulled down the whole building, but without finding a single state-prisoner. Necker was presently restored, but it was felt that a revolution had begun, for the mob had learnt their power. On the smallest excitement they rose and hunted down those whom they thought their foes, sometimes hanging them to the iron bars on which the lamps were placed over the street, sometimes tearing them to pieces, the fishwomen being the foremost in all these violences. In many parts of the country the peasants and townspeople were attacking the houses of the nobles, plundering and sometimes killing the inhabitants, but more often dragging them off to prison. The army, where no merit made up for lack of birth, was of course anxious to carry on the changes; but the guards, being all men of rank, were devoted to the king, and on the 2nd of October, 1789, at a dinner at Versailles, there was an outburst of loyalty, and the song, "*O Richard, O mon roi*," was rapturously applauded. This was so reported at Paris as to make the people imagine that the queen was sending for troops to massacre them. There was besides a great scarcity of provisions, and the people, in the wildest rage, rushed out to Versailles, and while some burst into the National Assembly and insisted on Mirabeau's speaking, others clamoured round the palace. Lewis would neither fight nor fly; he was resolved to shed no blood, he would not let his Swiss guard defend him, and trusted to La Fayette and the National Guard; but in the night the mob were seized with a fresh fit of frenzy, and broke into the palace, screaming for the life of the queen. A lady and a Swiss guard gained a moment for her by barring the door of

her bed-room, while she fled to the king's rooms, and La Fayette cleared the palace of the mob ; but in the morning they were all howling for "the Austrian." She came out on the balcony with her son and daughter. "No children" was the cry, and she sent them back and stood alone, expecting the death-shot, but no one durst give it. The people were for that time satisfied by bringing the whole royal family back into Paris, where they were lodged in the Tuilleries and carefully watched, lest they should make any attempt to raise a party elsewhere and check the revolution.

8. The New Constitution, 1790.—The National Assembly, called the *Constituent Assembly* from its work of drawing up a constitution, swept away all the titles and privileges of nobility. It decreed that church property belonged to the nation, and that the endowments of all the bishoprics, abbeys, chapters, and parishes should be taken by the State, fixed salaries being given to the bishops and clergy. The huge amount of Church property could not at once be disposed of, and government issued promissory notes, which were called *assignats*, but which in the great scarcity of coin were not worth nearly so much as the sums they were supposed to represent. The clergy were required to bind themselves to strict obedience to the State, and, as this was contrary to canonical obedience to the pope, many of them refused, and were expelled from their preferments. The parliaments of the different parts of the kingdom were abolished. The ancient provinces, representing the states out of which France had been made up, were abolished, and the country divided into *Departments*. Avignon and the Venaissin, which belonged to the pope, though surrounded by France, were annexed ; and the rights which still belonged to certain German nobles over parts of Elsass were extinguished. The king consented to everything in a sort of helpless despair. The queen hoped to come to terms and save some shreds of power, and held conferences with Mirabeau, the only person of reasonable views who had power to control the Jacobins ; but when Mirabeau died in 1791, hope went with him, and the king's brothers and aunts fled from France ; only his sister Elizabeth remained to share his fate. The royal family made one attempt to escape, but were seized at Varennes and brought back amid savage insults, the revolutionary party being persuaded that their object was to bring back the

emigrant nobility and an armed force from Germany to wreak vengeance for all they had suffered, and trample on the people. So they were watched more closely than ever, and were made to feel to the utmost the recoil of the crimes of their forefathers. A new constitution was framed, vesting the government in the king and a single legislative chamber. The king kept the right of "*Veto*," that is, of refusing the royal assent to a measure. He was to bear the old title of *King of the French* instead of *King of France*, and was left just power enough in the veto and in the right of appointing ministers, to embroil him with the revolutionary party. If the king transgressed the new conditions, or called in the army against the nation, he was to be deposed. However, on the 14th September, 1791, he made oath to observe the new constitution, and the National Assembly dissolved itself soon afterwards.

9. *The Legislative Assembly, 1791, 1792.*—The new assembly, called the *Legislative Assembly*, met 1st October, 1791. Some of the members of this Assembly wished to see the king continue to exercise power: among those who wished to make the government more republican, the moderate party were called *Girondins*, because the chief of them came from the department of the Gironde, the country round the estuary of the Garonne. Their favourite place of meeting was at the house of the beautiful, eager, and brilliant *Manon Roland*, the wife of a Girondin member who afterwards became a minister. Like all this party Madame Roland had filled her mind with stories of the heroes of classical times, drawn from Plutarch's lives. There was a more violent party which aimed at the overthrow of all existing institutions to build fresh ones. In the hall of Assembly they occupied the upper benches called the *Mountain*. Their leader was Maximilian Robespierre. He was not himself a member of this Assembly, but constantly spoke at the Jacobins' club.

10. *Fall of the Monarchy, 1792.*—The king was a closely-watched captive in his own capital, and the emigrant nobility took up arms to deliver him, hoping to gain the help of *King Frederick William II.* of Prussia, and the *Emperor Leopold*, brother of the queen. But this was, in truth, a fatal step, since the nation only saw in it an endeavour to bring back all they had pined under. War was declared on Austria. Full of a fiery spirit of patriotism, the Girondins required the king to pronounce

all emigrants traitors, and to send out of the kingdom all the clergy who had refused the oaths. Much as Lewis had already yielded, to this he would not consent, and again it was resolved to extort his signature by terror. On the 20th of June, 1792, 30,000 of the lowest of the people formed a procession, with banners inscribed, "The Rights of Man," and on the end of a pike a pig's heart, labelled, "The heart of an Aristocrat." Through the Tuilleries they marched, the king allowing no resistance, and showing not a moment's terror; but when the signature to the act was demanded from him, he gently replied that this was not the time nor the way to ask it. His calmness, and the quiet dignity of the queen and her sister, impressed the people, and after three hours they drew off without bloodshed. The war, however, made a real union between the king and the nation impossible. Prussia had joined Austria. In a week or two more the tidings that the army of emigrants and Germans, under the Duke of Brunswick, was on the frontier, calling on loyal subjects to rise and deliver the king, renewed the rage of the people. La Fayette tried to interpose, but he was only suspected of treachery, and he tried to fly to Holland. He was captured by the Austrians and kept in prison for several years. The nation was possessed with the idea that the king had been playing them false, and meant to turn in his soldiers to crush them, and their wrath was pitiless. Loyal gentlemen rallied round the king at the Tuilleries, and the Swiss guards were of unshaken fidelity. Marie Antoinette would have trusted to them, and have stood by her husband while all sold their lives dearly, but Lewis still saw in the howling mob his ill-treated subjects, and could not bear to draw the sword against them. When, on the 10th of August, 1792, they again rushed on the Tuilleries, reinforced by five hundred ruffians from Marseilles, he wavered, not for his own sake, but theirs. Just as the attack was beginning, the Legislative Assembly sent to offer him shelter; and though the queen declared that she would rather be nailed to the palace doors than fly, he consented, and was escorted across the street with his wife, sister, two children, and three ladies, to the hall of the Assembly, where they were shut up in the shorthand writers' box. He had forgotten that this left the faithful men who had come to defend him to give their lives for nothing. No word to disperse had been given to

the Swiss. It was only when the fighting had continued for some time, and 160 of the people had been shot down by the troops, that the king sent an order to the troops to leave the palace. As they passed through the garden of the Tuilleries they were surrounded by the mob and massacred. When the horrible work was over, the mob rushed into the Assembly, declaring that the king had levied war on the nation and must be deposed. A vote was passed for the suspension of the king from his authority, for the appointment of a ministry by the Assembly, and for the summoning of a new assembly called the *National Convention*. The king and his family were taken to the old tower of the *Temple*, the castle of the Knights Templars, under the charge of the National Guard. The army on the borders became the more bent on the rescue of the king, and alarm added to the fury of the revolutionary party, who thought the cause of liberty would be lost if there were aristocrats within to join the enemies without. So all the so-called enemies of the State who could be found in Paris, and especially the clergy who refused the constitutional oath, were arrested and carried to the jails. On the 2nd of September, 1792, a body of ruffians, armed with swords and pikes, was sent round. The prisoners were brought one by one before a pretended jury in each of the prison-courts. Those whom they condemned were thrust out into the street, where the murderers waited to receive them. More than a thousand were thus massacred, the horrible women of Paris looking on with applause, and bringing food to the butchers. The massacre lasted four days, and worked up the mob of Paris to a fiendish delight in blood. The Legislative Assembly dissolved itself on 21st September, 1792, and was succeeded by the National Convention.

11. The National Convention, 1792.—The first act of the Convention was to abolish royalty and to declare France a republic. The words *monsieur* and *madame*, with the ordinary forms of polite language, ceased to be used, and men and women called one another "*citoyen*" and "*citoyenne*." The Duke of Orleans took his seat by the name of the citizen *Egalité*. To understand the state of things, it must be remembered that the power of the king and the privileges of the nobles and clergy had created an intolerable amount of oppression and misery which only a violent convulsion could break. The people had become maddened with the effort and the excitement

of unaccustomed freedom, and were full of rage, fury, and terror at the notion of any return of the bonds that had galled them, looking on every being of noble birth as a tyrant, almost as a noxious animal, possessed of some mysterious power that would do mischief unless it was crushed. Persons now began to be brought to trial for alleged conspiracies against the Republic, and some were put to death by the guillotine, though executions did not become common till a later time. In certain towns the people committed some cruel murders; but the government still tried to keep order in the usual way, and to check violence. The army of emigrants and Germans was checked at *Valmy* by *Dumouriez* in September, 1792, almost at the moment of the meeting of the Convention. The Prussian soldiers suffered so much from sickness, and their commander agreed so ill with the Austrians, that, although no real battle had been fought at Valmy, it was resolved to retreat; and Brunswick led his army out of France. Dumouriez now invaded Belgium, defeated the Austrians at *Jemappes*, and gained the whole country up to the borders of Holland. General Custine invaded the Rhenish provinces of the Empire, and captured the great German city and fortress of Mainz. Wherever the French armies advanced, they declared all existing governments, and all the privileges of the nobles and clergy, to be at an end. The Convention proclaimed that it would assist all nations which desired to throw off the yoke of kings and nobles, and to regain what were supposed to be the natural "rights of men."

12. Death of Lewis XVI., 1793.—The Convention, like the Legislative Assembly, contained the two parties of the *Gironde* and the *Mountain*. The latter were resolved on the death of the king. Their leaders were three men whose zeal for the rights of men and what they called the cause of humanity led them to sweep away everything most unmercifully, in order that they might rebuild. These were *Robespierre*, and with him *Danton*, a lawyer, and *Marat*, a surgeon. Robespierre was for putting the king to death without a trial; but the trial was voted, and he was brought for trial before the Convention, by the name of *Louis Capet*. Lewis was found guilty by a vast majority, and was sentenced to die by a much smaller one. Among them was his own kinsman, Philip Egalité, to the horror even of the democrats, who muttered, "the monster," as the vote was given. Lewis XVI. died by

the guillotine on the 21st of January, 1793, with the utmost piety and resolution, making it his last charge to his family that his death might not be revenged, and his prayer that his blood might not be visited on his people. The effect was at once to rouse the anger of all Europe. In Brittany and the part of Anjou called *La Vendee*, where the people were very religious, and where the nobles had been a kindly, much-loved race, the death of the king increased the anger that had been excited by the removal of the nonjuring priests; and the discontent of the people was brought to a height by a forced levy of the young men as soldiers. Here there was a great rising of peasants led by the nobles. Altogether there was a spirit of reaction. General Dumouriez began to treat with the Austrians, who had recovered Belgium, but was detected and fled into their camp. Soon after the king's death, France declared war against England. The moderation of the Girondins was hateful to the frenzy of the Jacobins, and their whole body was arrested with the exception of six who escaped. A Tribunal was appointed with the power of judging and sentencing plotters at once without appeal. The arrest of the Girondins, which was the work of the Paris mob, produced a civil war, for the men arrested were many of them the deputies from the greatest towns in France, and the best known men in the country. Marseilles, Lyons, Bourdeaux, and Toulon rose in revolt against the tyranny of the Mountain. Marat, the worst of the Parisian demagogues, was looked on with such horror that a girl named *Charlotte Corday* stabbed him to the heart, hoping thus to free the country from its miseries.

13. The Reign of Terror, 1793, 1794.—The death of Marat did but enhance the fury of those who thought that all the old landmarks must fall. At the same time the defeat of the French armies and the entry of the foreigners upon French soil, made it necessary to form a government of absolute power in order to save the republic from destruction. England, Austria, Prussia, Spain, and Naples were all combined against it. On every side France seemed to be sinking before its enemies. The Austrians and the English drove before them the army of Dumouriez, captured the towns of *Condé* and *Valenciennes*, and were only prevented from marching on Paris by their own errors. The Prussians invaded Elsass. Toulon gave itself up to the English, and declared Lewis XVII. king.

It was under the influence of these disasters that the Committee of Public Safety, composed of ten or twelve members of the Convention, gained such absolute power as no government of France had ever possessed, and began what is called the Reign of Terror by the execution of the Girondins and of the Queen. Marie Antoinette, who had been kept for months in a cell in the Conciergerie, was brought before the tribunal and condemned. She was executed on the 16th of October, 1793. From that time until July, 1794, people of all ranks in life were put to death every day, poor and rich, good and bad. No one's life was safe. Philip Egalité, as he called himself, died unpitied. The prisons teemed with ladies guiltless of all save rank, and daily the list came of those who were to go through a mock trial and die. But the Committee, guided by Carnot, an officer of great ability, and strengthened by a law which made every Frenchman liable to serve as a soldier, soon succeeded in raising armies more than a match for those invading France. Unsuccessful generals were beheaded: the best officers were placed in command, although many of them had lately been but common soldiers. Generals Hoche and Pichegru drove the allies back on the Rhine, Kleber broke up the Vendean army, and Kellerman bombarded and took Lyons. Terrible was the revenge that followed. *Collot d'Herbois*, a member of the Committee of Public Safety, came down to direct the slaughter at Lyons, and, as the guillotine was too slow, had the people mown down with grape-shot, and intended that nothing should be left of the city but a monument with the inscription "Lyons resisted liberty, Lyons is no more." "The corpses," he said, "should float down to Toulon and shew the people what to expect." Toulon held out until, by the advice of *Napoleon Buonaparte*, then a captain of artillery, the guns were directed upon the harbours. Then the English fleet was forced to depart, carrying off as many as could take refuge on board, but leaving the rest to the same work of carnage, which was likewise carried on at Bordeaux and Marseilles. The Vendean prisoners were carried to Nantes. Some were shot, others were taken out into the river Loire and sunk in barges. At Orleans the chief inhabitants were guillotined for supposed sympathy with the emigrants, and at Verdun seventeen young girls were executed because it was said that they danced at a ball given by the Prussians.

And, chief of all the victims at Paris, died (May 11, 1794) the saintly *Elizabeth* of France, the king's sister, whose blood was claimed by the Committee of Public Safety. "The more the social body throws off, the healthier it is," was their plea.

14. Worship of Reason, 1793.—Meanwhile there was an endeavour to reconstruct. A new æra was invented. Years were henceforth to be counted from the 22nd of September, 1792, the beginning of the republic, and were freshly divided into months of thirty days each, called by new names taken from their weather, while the five odd days were called *sans culottides*, after the nickname of the poorest of the republicans. Weeks were done away with, and a day of rest was appointed every tenth instead of every seventh day. The Archbishop of Paris, Gobel, renounced the Christian religion in the Convention, along with many other priests; and the City of Paris celebrated the "Festival of Reason," enthroning a loose woman above the altar of Notre Dame as the goddess of Reason. In many parts of France the Commissioners of the Convention put a stop to services in the churches, and imprisoned the priests. The gold and silver vessels were seized for the good of the State, and the bells, it was reckoned, would furnish 15,000 cannon. Indeed one hundred cannon were cast every month at Paris, and 1100 muskets were daily finished. Roads and canals were also begun, and those scientific arrangements planned which have since based the French measures of weight, length, and capacity on the proportions of the earth. Danton and his friends thought the resting-place had been arrived at. They had made bloodshed their weapon, and had gained what they wished, and they would have put an end to the proscription and released the prisoners, but Robespierre and the Jacobins would not listen. "We must not confound the innocent with the guilty," said Danton, somewhat late in the day. "Who says that one innocent has suffered?" returned Robespierre. "Do you hear?" said Danton, ironically; "not one innocent has suffered." From that time his doom was sealed, but he refused to secure himself by flight, and when warned, said, like Guise, "They dare not." He thought with his mighty voice to overawe the Convention, and ruin Robespierre instead of himself; but he was arrested on the ever-ready charge of conspiring against the nation. Robespierre prevented his defence from being heard, and he was sent

to the guillotine (April 5, 1794) with his supporters, foretelling that Robespierre would not be long behind them. The Convention decreed that "Terror and all the virtues should be the order of the day." Yet Robespierre still fancied himself a benefactor to the human race, and moreover made the Convention decree that it acknowledged the existence of a God and of a future state. He held a festival in honour of the Supreme Being (June 3, 1794). But the slaughtering increased every day, though all the time Robespierre seems to have believed that he was only clearing away the foes of mankind, and retained a gentleness of manner and daintiness of dress and carriage. At last some of the Committee of Public Safety, being jealous of him, and finding that he was about to destroy them, resolved to be beforehand with him. Finding out what was going on, he denounced the Committee in the Convention, but was met by silence, and the next day, the 27th of July, 1794, Tallien openly denounced him in the Convention as a second Cromwell, and there was a general outcry of "Down with the tyrant." Robespierre raged and struggled, but too much noise was kept up to allow him to speak, and he was arrested with his brother and four more, crying, "The republic is ruined, the brigands triumph." They tried to destroy themselves, but only one succeeded, and as ghastly spectacles they were guillotined the next day, and Paris awoke to find itself relieved from a horrible nightmare of blood and terror. In the three years from 1791 to 1794 18,603 persons had been guillotined, besides those shot at Lyons, Toulon, and in Brittany, and those drowned at Nantes.

15. The Directory, 1795—1799.—The survivors of the Girondin party became the leaders of the Convention. They opened the prisons, and brought back a sense of rest and safety. A new form of government was decreed, placing the legislative power in two councils, one of *five hundred*, who were to originate measures, and were all to be over thirty years of age; the other, called the *Council of Elders*, of two hundred and fifty members, all over forty years of age, who were to approve or reject the bills sent up to them by the Five Hundred. Two-thirds of the members of both Councils were to be men who had sat in the Convention. The executive government was to be given to a *Directory* of five members. Of the royal family no one remained but the dauphin, a boy of ten, and his sister, a girl of fifteen, two children of Lewis the Sixteenth.

The boy was found in a horrible state. Ever since he had found that his words were used against his mother, he had never opened his lips, and his keeper Simon, after growing weary of maltreating him, had shut him up in a room which was never cleaned, nor his linen changed, for nearly two years, so that the poor child was found in the very depth of loathsomeness and misery. Kindness came too late to save him, and he died on the 8th of June, 1795. His sister, *Maria Theresa*, was shortly after set at liberty, and sent to join her uncle the *Count of Provence*, who had taken refuge in Italy, and who was now, on the death of his nephew, acknowledged by royalists as Lewis XVIII. The royalists were offended at the rule about choosing two-thirds of the Council from the old Convention, and in Paris they rose in revolt. Troops had to be called in to keep them down, but to send soldiers upon the city was so dangerous a step that it was felt that the charge could only be given to an officer of more than common prudence and courage. "I have the man," cried *Barras*, the member appointed by the Convention to suppress the revolt, "a little Corsican officer, who will not stand on ceremony." This little Corsican was Napoleon Buonaparte, the third son of a lawyer at Ajaccio, where he was born on the 15th of August, 1769. He had been bred to arms in the college of *Brienne*, and had first become known to *Barras* as an artillery officer at the siege of Toulon. The instinct which had fixed on him proved right. He planted his guns so as to sweep the chief thoroughfares leading to the Tuilleries. The revolt was suppressed (October 5, 1795), and (on October 25) the National Convention broke up, and was succeeded by the Directory and the two Councils.

16. **The Italian Campaigns, 1795—1797.**—Meanwhile the war with the allies was going on vigorously. Belgium was reconquered by the battle of *Fleurus*, won by *Jourdan* in June, 1794. *Pichegru*, who succeeded *Jourdan* in command, carried the war into Holland, drove the English army before him, and finally captured the Dutch fleet with a regiment of cavalry, by riding over the frozen waters of the *Texel*. Holland was turned into the *Batavian Republic*, and became the dependent ally of France. All the country was conquered up to the Rhine; the Spaniards were beaten in the Pyrenees, and a French army pushed along the coast-road into Italy, between Nice and Genoa. Prussia made peace with France at *Basle* in

1795 : Spain and Tuscany also made peace about the same time. This was the state of things when, at the beginning of 1796, the Committee of Public Safety determined to send three armies against Austria, one by the valley of the Maine, another by the valley of the Danube, and the third by way of Lombardy. The command of the army in Italy was given to General Buonaparte. Buonaparte had his head-quarters on the coast-road, between Nice and Genoa. The allied armies of Austria and Sardinia held the mountains rising north of the coast-road, so as to block Buonaparte's way from the sea towards the plain of Lombardy. Everything depended on separating the allied armies, for if Buonaparte could once force his way between them, the Sardinians would have to fall back westward towards Turin, and the Austrians eastward towards Milan, so that they could no longer help one another. Buonaparte did separate the two armies by an attack at Montenotte, April 10th, and the result which he had expected followed. The Sardinians retired towards Turin. Buonaparte pursued and defeated them, leaving part of his army to watch the Austrians. The king of Sardinia, terrified at the approach of the French to Turin, made an armistice, and gave up to Buonaparte the great fortresses which guard the entrance of Italy. Buonaparte could now safely turn against the Austrians. He made them think that he was about to attack them at Valenza, on the river Po ; but as soon as Beaulieu, the Austrian general, had brought his troops to this point, Buonaparte suddenly marched down the south bank of the Po to Piacenza, and there crossed it quite in the rear of the Austrian general. Beaulieu, to prevent himself from being altogether cut off from Austria, had to abandon Milan, and fall back on the river Adda. Here Buonaparte attacked and defeated him, leading the charge of his grenadiers over the bridge of Lodi under a heavy fire. Beaulieu retreated to the Mincio ; he was again defeated and forced to take refuge in Mantua. Having thus crippled the Austrians, Buonaparte was free to turn against the Italian States. The Dukes of Modena and Parma, as well as the pope, bought peace of the French by heavy fines, and by giving up their finest works of art. These Buonaparte insisted on carrying off to adorn the museum which the Directory had set up in the Louvre, and which throughout his career he continued to fill with

the most precious pictures and statues from conquered countries. The king of the Two Sicilies forsook the alliance of Austria for that of France. The pope lost the northern part of his dominions, known as the *Legations*. New Austrian armies were beaten by Buonaparte at *Arcole* and *Rivoli*, and in the spring of 1797 he passed through *Carinthia* into the older provinces of Austria. Carnot had intended him to meet Moreau and Jourdan in Germany, when all were to besiege *Vienna*. But in Germany the French had been defeated and driven back by the Archduke Charles, till Buonaparte himself came northward from Italy. Meanwhile there were risings in the Venetian territories which gave an excuse for the suppression of the Venetian republic. Buonaparte concluded peace on his own terms. The whole Austrian Netherlands were given up to France. The duchies of Milan and Mantua had already been made into a *Transpadane Republic*, while the duchy of Modena and the territories taken from the pope became a *Cispadane Republic*. The dominions of Genoa also formed a *Ligurian Republic*. The Cispadane and Transpadane Republics, enlarged by the western possessions of Venice, were now to form the Cisalpine Republic. By way of compensation, Venice, with the remainder of its Italian and all its Dalmatian territories, were to be made over to Austria, while the islands off the west coast of Greece, called the Ionian Islands, were taken by France. La Fayette was to be set at liberty. Spirit and courage had decayed in *Venice*, and the once great city did not strike a blow in self-defence when the French troops entered to secure it for the Emperor Francis. They took as their own share of the spoil the splendid horses of brass which Dandolo had taken from Constantinople. The treaty with Austria was signed at *Campo Formio* in October, 1797. Austria secretly agreed that France should have the German Provinces on the left bank of the Rhine. Prussia had already made a secret agreement to cede its own territory in this district ; so that nothing further was required but the consent of the German Diet, which was quite unable to help itself when the two great States had made their agreement with France. From this time until 1814 France held the Rhenish Provinces, including Aachen, the old royal city of Karl the Great, and Mainz, Köln, and Trier, some of the most historic and venerable cities of Germany. ✕

17. Napoleon in Egypt, 1798.—On Buonaparte's return he was greeted and followed as a hero, and he was as eager to take the command of a fresh army as the Directory could be to get rid of one whom they already began to fear. The special hatred of France was directed against England, since George III. had from the first refused to acknowledge the republic. An invasion of England was the favourite scheme of the Directory. But Buonaparte persuaded the Directors to send him on an expedition to Egypt, with vague promises of winning India from England, and marching on Vienna by way of Constantinople. He sailed from Toulon on the 19th of May, 1798, with 40,000 troops and a magnificent fleet, including *L'Orient*, a hundred and twenty gun ship. He was followed at some distance by the English commander *Nelson*, with a fleet equal in numbers, but inferior in the size of his ships. On his way Buonaparte obtained the surrender of *Malta*, where the knights of St. John had grown too weak to avail themselves of their splendid defences. Leaving a garrison at *Valetta*, Buonaparte proceeded to land at Alexandria, whence they marched to Cairo. On the way he fought desperately with 6000 Memlooks, and 18,000 other troops. European firmness prevailed. The French formed in squares, against which the fiery horsemen dashed like the angry sea against rocks, till at last they were forced backwards on the Nile, and many perished in the waters. Buonaparte called this the *Battle of the Pyramids*. Entering Cairo, he did his best to gain the hearts of the Turks and Arabs, by pretending that the pure belief proclaimed by the French agreed with their own, and almost appearing disposed to become a Mahometan. Meanwhile he sent home the most exaggerated reports of his proceedings to the French papers, such as might most exalt him in the eyes of the Parisians. But a crushing blow was struck to his plans by the utter destruction of his fleet in the bay of *Aboukir* by Nelson. The French admiral, *Brueys*, was killed, his flag-ship *L'Orient* was blown up, and of the whole fleet only two escaped to bear home the tidings. Thus the army of Egypt was entirely cut off from home, unable even to obtain news, for Nelson had full command of the Mediterranean, and blockaded Malta. There the French garrison held out for a whole year, but as no succour could reach them, were forced to surrender at last. Moreover, *Sultan Selim II.*, instead of thanking Buona-

parte for freeing Egypt from the dominion of the Memlooks, allied himself with the English, and began to fit out an army in Syria. Against this Buonaparte marched, and entering Palestine laid siege to *Jaffa*, which was taken by assault. A frightful butchery followed, including the slaughter of 2000 soldiers, who had been promised their lives by his step-son, *Eugène Beauharnais*, but whom Buonaparte could neither guard nor send back to Cairo, and therefore shot down on the sea-shore. This deed inspired the garrison of St. John D'Acre to hold out desperately, and they were directed by *Philippeaux*, a French emigrant engineer, and an English naval officer, *Sir Sidney Smith*, who had sailed into their harbour with two ships. For sixty days the French attacked in vain, and then had to fight a great battle with the Syrian army at *Mount Tabor*, in which they were victorious. Returning to the siege, and finding that *Philippeaux* had died of fever, Buonaparte ordered a general assault, but was beaten off with terrible loss, and, as the plague had broken out in his army, he was forced to raise the siege. It was his first check, and overthrew all his eastern schemes. He ascribed it to *Smith*, and long after was wont to say, "That man made me miss my destiny." The army had a miserable march back to Egypt through the desert, many dropping on the way to die of the plague; and in the mean time the English ships brought to Egypt 9000 Janissaries and an equal number of other troops, commanded by *Mustafa Pasha*. Over these Buonaparte gained one of his most splendid victories at *Aboukir*, in great part owing to the great cavalry charge of *Joachim Murat*, known as *le beau Sabreur*. There was afterwards an exchange of prisoners, and with his flag of truce *Sir Sidney Smith* sent a file of newspapers, the first tidings Buonaparte had received since the battle of the Nile. They made him decide on at once returning home, and, contriving to elude the English fleet, he left the army of Egypt to *Kleber*, in September, 1799, with large promises of reinforcements; but these he was never able to send, and in 1801 an English army coming out under *Sir Ralph Abercromby*, totally defeated the French under the walls of *Alexandria*, which they then besieged. The French army capitulated, the English undertaking to carry them back to France.

18. Reaction in Europe, 1799.—In 1798 the Directory ordered an invasion of Switzerland in order to obtain

the treasure at Bern. Vaud was separated from Bern. The French went on to invade the Democratic Cantons, and changed the Confederation into a single commonwealth, which they called the *Helvetic Republic*. Geneva was now incorporated with France. In 1798 Joseph Buonaparte was sent as ambassador to Rome with instructions from the Directory to stir up insurrection against the pope. French troops accordingly marched into the city, proclaimed a *Roman Republic*, seized Pope Pius VI., now eighty years old, and dragged him to France, where he died at Valence on the 29th of August, 1799. A revolution was excited in Turin, and, on an accusation of correspondence with Vienna, Charles Emmanuel was deprived of Piedmont, and forced to retire to Sardinia. However the victory of the English at the Nile seemed to waken a fresh spirit in Europe, and the Emperor Francis, and Paul, Emperor of Russia, entered into an alliance, and raised troops for the recovery of Italy, thus encouraging the King and Queen of the Two Sicilies to renounce their alliance with France. The Neapolitan army, commanded by an Austrian general, Mack, marched against the French in Rome. The French, being very few in number, retired northwards; but when Mack followed them they completely overthrew his army, and drove him back to Naples. The King and Queen now fled to Sicily, under the protection of the English fleet. Naples was turned into a *Parthenopean Republic* by the French, helped by its own citizens, while the *Lazzaroni* or mob of Naples tried to withstand them. But the armies of Austria and Russia now advanced against the French in Northern Italy. The French were beaten from point to point, forced to abandon Naples and Rome, and finally overthrown by Marshal Suvaroff at Novi, not far from Alessandria. The campaign was the most disastrous that the republic had yet known, and if Suvaroff had been allowed to follow up his successes, he would probably have fought his way into France. But he was ordered into Switzerland, to help General Korsakoff near Zurich. Before Suvaroff could arrive, Korsakoff was crushed by the French general Massena, and the French Republic was saved from its dangers. An attack of the Russians and English on Holland came to nothing.

19. Fall of the Directory, 1799.—Meanwhile at home there had been various changes of Directors, and each set had shewn themselves unable to manage these many wars.

The ablest man among them was the ex-*Abbé Sièyes*, a clever, speculative politician, but his hand was not strong enough for the task. When Buonaparte came back in October, 1799, he took measures quietly with Sièyes and another Director, named *Ducos*, who agreed that in time of war so unwieldy a state-machine as these two Councils could not work. The Directors were partly persuaded, partly compelled to resign, and the two Councils were persuaded to sit at St. Cloud, while Buonaparte received the military command of Paris. On the 9th of November, 1799, the *18th Brumaire of the year VI.*, as the French called it, followed by five grenadiers, he came before the Council of the Elders and told them that their constitution was good for nothing, and that France, which he had left flourishing, had been beaten at all points, while for himself he was accompanied by the god of fortune and of war. The elders cheered him; but when he repaired to the Five Hundred, where his brother, *Lucien Buonaparte*, was president, and spoke in the same strain, a cry of "Cromwell" arose; he was threatened with outlawry, collared, and hurled out of the room. But his grenadiers came to his rescue, and, while Lucien defended him by word, he showed his troops all the marks of the scuffle, telling them that he had pointed the way to glory and had been answered with daggers. A guard went in to fetch out his brother, and this done the drum was beaten, and Murat rushed into the Council, calling "Forward!" Out dashed the Five Hundred by the doors and windows, leaving the place strewn with fragments of their gowns. In the evening about fifty were got together, who together with the Elders agreed to make three consuls, Buonaparte, Sièyes, and Ducos, for the purpose of drawing up a new constitution. After the discussion of some plans of Sièyes' a constitution was framed, by which the executive power was placed for ten years in three *consuls*, Buonaparte, Cambacères, and Lebrun, of whom Buonaparte was the first consul, and had all the real power. There was to be a senate appointed for life, a legislative assembly, and a body of a hundred Tribunes. All were to be appointed in a very complicated way, in which the people had no direct share. This constitution was put to a vote of the whole people, which the French call a *plébiscite*, and was accepted by a large majority. Buonaparte now took up his residence at the Tuilleries, with his wife, *Josephine de la Pagerie*, the widow of the *Viscount of Beauharnais*,

who had been executed in the Reign of Terror. There was now once more a Court, with state carriages, liveries, rich dresses, and military display.

20. The Second Italian War, 1800.—In the spring of 1800 Buonaparte set out to reconquer Italy from the Austrians. The Austrian army was scattered over the western part of Piedmont; part of it was besieging General Massena in Genoa, now almost the only town in Italy held by the French. Buonaparte had promised Massena that he would come to his relief, but instead of doing this he led his army over the pass of St. Bernard into the north of Piedmont, and then moved eastward to Milan. The effect of this was that although Massena was not relieved, Buonaparte had brought his own army between the Austrian army and the roads from Austria, so that if the Austrians could not cut their way back, they were utterly ruined. The Austrian general Melas collected what forces he could at Alessandria, turned round so as to face east, and marched against Buonaparte, who was now outside Alessandria, at the village of Marengo. After almost winning a great victory, the Austrians were defeated and driven back into Alessandria (June 14). Thus cut off from Austria, the Austrian general, to avoid being made prisoner with his whole army, agreed to retire from Lombardy and to give back to the French everything that had been conquered by Suvaroff in the preceding year. The Emperor Francis began to negotiate for peace, but, heavy as his losses were, he refused Buonaparte's terms, and continued the war. Buonaparte himself now remained in Paris, but gave orders to General Moreau, who had entered Bavaria, to move forwards upon Vienna.

On the night of the 3rd of December there was a desperate battle at Hohenlinden, on the Iser, between Moreau and the Austrians under Archduke John, snow falling all the time so fast that the two armies could not see each other, and only aimed towards the flashes of the muskets. At last General Richepanse cut off half the Austrian army from the rest, and, charging them in flank, broke them completely, but not till 7000 on either side had fallen. The way to Vienna was open: Russia had withdrawn from the war in consequence of Austria trying to conquer Italy for itself. The Emperor Francis II. was forced to sign a peace at Luneville, giving to France all that had been given to it by the Treaty of Campo Formio,

and making public the cession of the Rhine Provinces, which had been secretly agreed to in that Treaty. Even with England peace was signed at *Amiens* on the 25th of March, 1803. By one of the provisions of the treaty Malta was to be given back to the knights. Buonaparte profited by this peace to send out his brother-in-law, *Leclerc*, to reduce the island of Haiti, where the example of revolution had been followed by a terrible insurrection of the slaves. The island had fallen under the rule of *Toussaint L'Ouverture*, one of the few great men of the negro race. But his troops could not stand against those of *Leclerc*, and he was treacherously seized and made away with. *Leclerc* soon died from the climate, and the island was lost. When the English found that Buonaparte was not content with what he had gained by the Peace of *Amiens*, and that he was determined also to annex Piedmont, they refused to give up Malta. Buonaparte now required that all the English writers of newspaper articles against him should be punished, and that the French royal family, then in England, should be driven out, together with all the emigrants. He insulted Lord Whitworth, the English ambassador, for refusing such demands, and having thus forced England to declare war, he seized, without any notice, on English travellers, and kept them as close prisoners, contrary to all usages of civilized nations. Meanwhile he poured his troops into Hanover, and prepared his fleet and army for a great invasion of England. Plots were now laid against him, one undoubted one by a Breton royalist named *George Cadoudal*, who intended to attack Buonaparte in the midst of his guards in the streets of Paris. General Pichegru was concerned in this plot; Moreau was falsely accused of being concerned in it. Both generals were thrown into prison. Pichegru was found strangled in his cell. Moreau was exiled, and went to America. Cadoudal died bravely, owning his intention of killing the first consul as a virtuous action. This plot seems to have been the cause of the blackest deed of Buonaparte's life. The Duke of Enghien, a youth of two-and-twenty, the only son of the Prince of Condé, was living harmlessly at Ettenheim, in the Duchy of Baden, when he was one night seized by a troop of French soldiers, hurried to Vincennes, led before a court-martial, and sentenced to be shot, which sentence was instantly carried out.

21. The Consulate, 1799—1804.—But the whole of this

time was not given up to warfare. In 1802 the constitution was again changed by a popular vote. Buonaparte was now made first consul for life. He also did much in the way of restoring order at home. He made a *concordat* with Pope Pius VII. (who had been elected at Venice on the death of his predecessor) for the restoration of union between the French Church and the Papacy. The first National Assembly had abolished the old dioceses, and given the appointment of priests and bishops to the people, thus making the French Church national and independent of Rome. The pope and a great part of the French clergy had however refused to accept this change. In order to gain the support of the pope and of the priests, who had been so hostile to the republic, Buona-
parte made the concordat with the pope, abolishing all the rights of the French people over their own Church,
dividing all authority between the pope and the first consul, and driving from their dioceses all bishops who refused to submit themselves to this new order of things. The concordat of 1804 has continued in force ever since. Buonaparte also completed a code of laws which had been drawn up, but not quite completed, by the republican assemblies, and gave to it the name of *Code Napoléon*. It established uniformity of law from the Channel to the Pyrenees, in city and country alike, obliterating all difference between old Roman colonies and communes of the middle ages, and reducing all to uniformity. The criminal code was a fair and just one, and the system of taxation and public burthens was made to bear on all classes alike. The accumulation of estates was made as difficult as possible by a law making it impossible for more than a small proportion of a man's land or property to be bequeathed by will to one child rather than another. The *Code Napoléon* has continued in force ever since. The system of government followed by Buonaparte gave all power to the central authority, and left none to local bodies. It has, on the whole, been preserved by all subsequent governments of France, thus keeping the whole country under a sort of web of offices, all dependent on the central government at Paris, so that whatever change may there take place, all the rest must needs helplessly submit for want of any power of independent action.

22. The Empire, 1804.— Everything at home and abroad, except England, lay at Buonaparte's feet. He now deemed that the time was come openly to assume the

titles of monarchy. He caused the senate to petition him to rule, as a hereditary prince, with the title of *Emperor*. Carnot alone was steady enough to his old principles to speak against their utter overthrow. Nobody seconded him. Some were terrified, some were spell-bound by what they called Buonaparte's glory, many more felt that his strong hand gave a sense of safety after all the horrors and miseries they had passed through. One of the few who honestly objected was his own brother Lucian, who retired into Italy, and never accepted any favour from him. The crown was entailed on his other brothers, *Joseph*, *Louis*, and *Ferome*, in case of his continuing childless. The other two consuls were given nominal dignities, and his chief officers were made marshals of the empire and received titles. Buonaparte's profession was to restore, not the old kingdom of France, but the Western Empire of Charles the Great, according to the usual confusion which looks on Charles as a French prince. He at one time thought of calling himself *Emperor of the Gauls*, like Civilis, but the style on which he finally settled was *Emperor of the French*. He insisted that the pope should come to Paris at his coronation on the 2nd of December, not to crown him, for he placed the golden laurel wreath, his imperial crown, on his own head, and then crowned Josephine, while heralds proclaimed them Emperor and Empress of the French. As France was changed into an Empire, so the Cisalpine (now called Italian) Republic was changed into a *kingdom of Italy*. On the 26th of May, 1805. Buonaparte crowned himself at Milan with the iron crown of Lombardy, making his step-son, Eugène Beauharnais, viceroy of Italy. About the same time the Ligurian Republic was annexed to France.

23. **Overthrow of the French Naval Power.**—In 1805, Charles the Fourth of Spain entered into alliance with France, and the Spanish fleet, consisting of the most splendid ships in Europe, was joined with those which Buonaparte had built since the battle of the Nile. He was more than ever bent on invading England; he had his forces ready at Boulogne, and flat-bottomed boats with which they were to cross, if only the English fleet could be lured from its watch. French ships were sent to threaten the West Indian Isles, in hope that enough English ships would follow them to give the French a few days' superiority before Boulogne. Nelson did follow the French to the West Indies; but returned with such

swiftness that he prevented the union of the fleets which were intended to invade England during his absence. The French and Spanish fleets were driven by stress of weather to put into Cadiz Bay, and Nelson with the Mediterranean Fleet lay in wait for them outside at *Cape Trafalgar*, where he won the greatest of all his victories on the 21st of October, 1805, but was himself killed by a shot from a sailor on a French mast-head. Out of forty ships, nineteen were taken and seven more afterwards surrendered. The French navy was ruined, and all thoughts of attacking the coast of England had to be laid aside.

24. The Campaign of Austerlitz, 1805.—The many aggressions of Buonaparte on other powers, his annexations of territory which had been recognized as independent by the Peace of Luneville, and the seizure of the Duke of Enghien on German ground, enabled Pitt, the English minister, to form a general coalition against France, which was joined by the Emperor Francis, Alexander, Emperor of Russia, and Gustavus, King of Sweden. Prussia remained neutral. Bavaria and Baden took part with France against the empire. Napoleon, with an immense force, called the grand army, marched to the rescue of Bavaria, while Massena was sent against the Austrian dominions in Italy. Massena was defeated by the Archduke Charles. But in Germany the Austrian general *Mack* was surrounded at *Ulm*, on the border of *Württemberg*, and forced to surrender with 25,000 soldiers. Vienna had been left undefended while Francis was gone northwards to join Alexander, who had just brought his army from Russia. The French entered Vienna on the 13th November, 1805. The three emperors fought at *Austerlitz* on the 2nd of December, when the soldiers promised that, if Napoleon would not run into danger, they would bring him the whole of the Russian standards and artillery as a bouquet. They redeemed the promise, gaining the most splendid of all their victories. It obliged Alexander to retreat, and forced Francis to accept the treaty of *Pressburg*, which fell more hardly on him than either of the former ones, since he had to give up Venetia and Dalmatia to the kingdom of Italy, to acknowledge his refractory feudatories of Bavaria and *Württemberg* as kings, and to cede parts of his hereditary dominions to them and to the Elector of Baden, among which changes the Tyrol was added to the kingdom of Bavaria. Buonaparte also suppressed the ancient republic of *Ragusa*, which had given no offence at

all. But he could not get all Dalmatia, for the Russians held Cattaro. At the same time he made his brother Louis *King of Holland*, and his brother-in-law Murat *Grand-Duke of Berg*. The new kings of Bavaria and Württemberg and some other of the German princes formed in July, 1806, the *Confederation of the Rhine*, under the protection of France, which was afterwards joined by others of the German states. These princes threw off their allegiance to the empire, and in August the Emperor Francis abdicated, and the Roman Empire and the Kingdom of Germany came to an end. Its position, and much more than its power, had now been transferred to the new ruler of France. The ex-emperor Francis, king of Hungary and archduke of Austria, went on reigning by the title of *Emperor of Austria*, which he had taken in 1804. Napoleon now expelled the Bourbon king of Naples, and gave his kingdom to his own brother Joseph Buonaparte. In 1808 he transferred it to Murat. The English fleet however was able to keep the island of Sicily, like the island of Sardinia, for its old king. The only insular possession which the French could keep in Europe was *Corfu*. In 1799, the Ionian Islands, which had been taken by France in 1797, were won by the Russians and Turks together, and were made into a republic under the protection of the Czar and the Sultan. In 1807 they were given back to France along with Cattaro; but the English won all the islands except Corfu.

25. **The Campaign of Jena, 1806.**—Prussia had stood aloof from the war in 1805, but its king, Frederick William, allied himself with Russia in 1806, and declared war on France. Saxony joined, and the army of 150,000 men was commanded by the Duke of Brunswick. Without waiting for the Russians, he advanced into Saxony, and there was met by Napoleon himself, at the head of the forces of France and of the Confederation of the Rhine, at *Jena*, on the 14th of October, 1806, and entirely crushed, with the loss of 20,000 men; the Duke of Brunswick was mortally wounded. The French now entered *Berlin*, and there Napoleon put out the famous *Berlin Decrees*, which declared the British Islands in a state of blockade and forbade all correspondence and trade with England. All northern Germany was now at Napoleon's mercy; the King and Queen of Prussia fled to Königsberg, and their whole country was trodden down with a ruthless severity that has never been forgotten. The Elector of Saxony

now made a separate peace and joined the Rhenish Confederation with the title of king. Alexander of Russia sent his forces, and at *Preuss Eylau*, on the 8th of February, 1807, was fought a most tremendous battle with terrible slaughter and doubtful success. In June followed another such battle at *Friedland*, when the Russians, after fearful losses, had to retreat, though in perfect order. This battle gave Königsberg to the French, and obliged Alexander to treat. By the Peace of *Tilsit*, in July, 1807, the King of Prussia gave up all his territory west of the Elbe, which, with some other German territory, was made into a *Kingdom of Westphalia* for Napoleon's brother Jerome. The other German dominions of Prussia were left to their own king, except that Danzig was made a republic. The Polish dominions of Prussia save a small part which was given to Russia, were made into a *Duchy of Warsaw*, which was given to the King of Saxony. France and Russia were now for a while on good terms. Alexander and Buonaparte might seem now to have divided Europe between them. Buonaparte went back to France, where the last check on his despotism was taken away by the abolition of the Tribune.

26. *Beginning of the Peninsular War, 1807.*—While Spain was the ally of France, Portugal was, as it had always been, an ally of England. At this time it had an insane queen, Maria I., and was governed by her son John. Portugal refused to carry out the Berlin decrees against her English ally; so Buonaparte proposed to *Godoy*, the minister of Charles of Spain, a scheme for the partition of Portugal. For this end he was allowed to send his troops through Spain. At the approach of the French General *Junot*, the Portuguese royal family took ship for Brazil, the great colony of Portugal, leaving their European kingdom to its fate. Buonaparte meanwhile, instead of partitioning Portugal, seized one Spanish fortress after the other, till the people of Madrid took alarm, rose against his dupe *Godoy*, and caused the king to abdicate in favour of his son, *Ferdinand VII.* But as Murat marched into the city, and would not acknowledge the new king or the old, both were induced to come to Bayonne to meet Buonaparte and plead their cause. There being both in one net, the father and son were each induced to resign the crown. Napoleon kept them both as prisoners, filled Spain with his troops, and when his brother Lucian indignantly refused

a crown so gained, he transferred Joseph to Spain, making Murat king of Naples. But the Spaniards had no notion of being thus treated; the whole kingdom, together with Portugal, armed; the hills and roads swarmed with *guerillas*, the towns shut their gates, a *junta*, or provisional council, met at Aranjuez, and both countries called for help from England, the only power still at war with France. Troops were sent to Lisbon under *Sir Arthur Wellesley*, in August, 1808, and totally defeated Junot at *Vimiera*; but the senior officers who superseded Wellesley did not follow up the victory, and by the *Convention of Cintra* allowed Junot to leave Portugal with the honours of war. *Sir John Moore*, who had also landed at Lisbon, now took the command, and entered Spain, intending to relieve Madrid and join the Spanish troops upon the Ebro. But before Moore could reach the Spaniards, Napoleon had destroyed their armies and entered Madrid. Moore, on hearing that the capital had fallen, bravely marched against *Soult* in the north of Spain, in order to force Napoleon to turn northwards, and to prevent him from pushing on to Cadiz. As soon as Napoleon heard that Moore was attacking Soult, he broke up from Madrid, and marched with the utmost haste against Moore. Moore had so small an army that it would have been destroyed if Napoleon had reached him. He made his retreat to *Corunna*; gave time to the south of Spain to prepare for resistance, by drawing Napoleon northwards after him; and met a glorious death in the victory which he won over the French army at *Corunna*, when they attempted, by an attack upon him, to hinder the embarkation of his troops, *January 16, 1809*. The resolution of the Spaniards did not give way, and though Joseph was crowned at Madrid and guarded by a large force of French troops, they never submitted, but defended their towns with savage bravery. The English still guarded Portugal, and in 1809 Wellesley marched against *Madrid* to expel King Joseph. He defeated the French in the battle of *Talavera*, on the 28th July, but had to go back again into Portugal, being outnumbered by the French armies.

27. Campaign of Wagram, 1809.—The absence of Napoleon in Spain, and the resistance of the Tyrolese to being handed over to Bavaria, emboldened Austria to begin a fourth war. Napoleon was taken by surprise. But he hurried to the Danube, beat the Archduke Charles at *Eckmühl*, on the 22nd of April, 1809, and marched on

Vienna, which was now a second time occupied by the French. Charles encamped beyond the Danube opposite Vienna, and when Napoleon made his first attempt to cross the river, Charles drove him back in the great battle of *Aspern*. Napoleon had to make new preparations, which occupied several weeks. At last he crossed again on the 7th of June, and defeated Charles in the battle of *Wagram*, fought nearly on the same ground as Aspern. He now imposed on Francis whatever conditions he chose. Those parts of the Austrian dominions which bordered on Italy and Dalmatia were now incorporated with France by the name of the *Illyrian Provinces*. Buonaparte also demanded the hand of the Archduchess *Maria Louisa*, daughter of the Emperor Francis, and great niece of Marie Antoinette. He had made up his mind to divorce Josephine and marry a princess who might bring him heirs. It was of course a great point with him to ally himself in this way with the ancient princely families of Europe, with the House of Austria, and even in some sort with the House of Bourbon. To this sacrifice Francis consented, and gave his daughter to this soldier of fortune. She bore him a son in 1811, who was called *King of Rome*. There was no war on Napoleon's hands after the battle of Wagram, except what he called the Spanish ulcer. Wellington was still in Spain with his 20,000 English, aided by 30,000 Portuguese. Napoleon sent *Massena*, whom he termed the spoiled child of victory, with 80,000 men, to drive the hideous leopards into the sea, meaning the lions or leopards in the English arms. But Massena was forsaken by victory at *Busaco*, he could not break the entrenchments at *Torres Vedras*, he was starved out of Portugal, and when he made a second attempt to advance into Portugal, he was beaten in the battle of *Fuentes d'Onoro*, near Almeida. The French and Spaniards hated each other bitterly, and both were guilty of such horrors that Joseph, a weak, kindly man, entreated his brother to let him resign, but in vain. At the same time Lewis, whose Dutch subjects would not endure the loss of trade with England, could not bear to carry out his brother's savage modes of enforcing obedience, and actually fled from Holland, which was united to the French empire. Buonaparte annexed to France all the ocean coast of Germany, taking in the three free cities of *Bremen*, *Hamburg*, and *Lübeck*. France now touched the Baltic. He also annexed the land of *Wallis* or *Valais*, which had been first

an ally and then a canton of Switzerland. The French dominion was now at its greatest extent. At the beginning of the Revolution the French had annexed only those lands to which they could pretend some kind of claim according to their notions, such lands, for instance, as had formed part of Roman Gaul. But now Buonaparte took what he pleased, with only such kind of excuses as saying that it was needful for France to have the mouths of all the German rivers, in order to be safe against England. While in Vienna, he had also annexed Rome to his dominions, and declared it the second city of the Empire. Hereupon Pope Pius VII. excommunicated Napoleon; but he was carried a prisoner to France, and kept there as long as Napoleon's power lasted.

28. The Russian Campaign, 1812-13.—By this time the friendship between Buonaparte and Alexander of Russia was beginning to give way. Buonaparte seems really to have planned the conquest of all Europe, and he specially offended the Russian Emperor by half promises made to the Poles of a fuller restoration of their country than he had made by creating the Duchy of Warsaw. About the same time he made another enemy by attacks on the independence of Sweden and aggression on the Swedish possessions in Germany. The ruler of Sweden was now one of his own former generals, *Bernadotte*, who had been chosen Crown Prince and successor to the childless King *Charles XIII.* Sweden now formed an alliance with Russia. Buonaparte marched out of France with what he called the *Grand Army*, composed of troops from France, Holland, Poland, Italy, and the Confederation of the Rhine. Austria and Prussia had also to give their assistance, but they did so unwillingly, and meaning to turn against Napoleon if he should be beaten by the Russians. The Peninsular war occupied Soult and Marmont, but all the rest of the marshals, with Napoleon at their head, marched in full security of conquest with an almost innumerable army upon Moscow. In spite of enormous losses through hardships and want of food, the army made its way through Russia. On the 5th of September, 1812, was fought the first considerable battle at Borodino, on the banks of the Moskova. Napoleon was unwell; he had just received the tidings that Marmont had been beaten by Wellington at Salamanca, and he did not show his usual vigour; but the battle, though hotly contested by the Russian generals,

Kutusoff and *Barclay de Tolly*, ended in the French keeping possession of the ground and marching into Moscow. Three-quarters of Napoleon's army had, however, already perished or disappeared. Not more than 100,000 out of 400,000 entered Moscow. They found the city deserted by the whole of the inhabitants, and they had scarcely taken up their quarters before flames broke out everywhere. The Russian governor, *Rostopchin*, had set fire to the city, in order to leave the French no shelter. Through the flight of the inhabitants, the French army was left without the means of obtaining food. As soon as Napoleon convinced himself that the Czar would not make peace, there was no choice but to retreat, and that through a country which had been utterly devastated by the French advance. The weather however was favourable; it was not until the army had almost perished from famine and fatigue that the cold weather, to which Napoleon most falsely attributed his failure, set in. The Cossacks hung upon the rear of the army, cutting off and capturing those who were left behind, and two new Russian armies came up, one from Finland, the other from the Danube, to prevent the French from escaping from Russia. They met them at the river Beresina, and here there was a deadly slaughter, but the French cut their way through. They now lived on horse-flesh, and had to plod through deep snows, and spend night after night in the open air. Every morning found the watch-fires surrounded with circles of dead. Marshal Ney and Eugène Beauharnais showed great courage and firmness, but Napoleon, as soon as he saw that nothing but misery was left for his army, left it to its fate, and hurried on with his guard of honour under the excuse that his presence was needed at Paris. Ney, who was already called the *Bravest of the Brave*, earned the further title of the *Rear-Guard of the Grand Army*, for he fought to the very last to protect the broken remnant. When they made their way to the *Niemen*, the river which divided Russia from the Duchy of Warsaw, he was said to be the last Frenchman, not being a prisoner, who quitted Russian ground.

29. Alliance of Europe against Napoleon.—1813.—Prussia and all Northern Germany were now ready to throw off the French yoke. All Prussia had been in training for arms ever since their overthrow at Jena. The king went to meet the Emperor Alexander at Breslau.

and concluded an alliance with him. Russia, Prussia, and Sweden were thus joined against France. Napoleon raised an army of young conscripts, and led them into Germany. On the old battle-field of *Lützen*, where Gustavus Adolphus had been slain, there was a terrible battle, in which the Russians had indeed to retreat, but without leaving one colour or one cannon in the hands of the French. *Bautzen* was such another dearly bought victory, obliging the allies to fall back. Saxony was on the French side, and Buonaparte had his headquarters at *Dresden*. There Austria offered terms of mediation, proposing that Napoleon should give up the North-German coast-district which he had taken in 1811, and restore to Austria the Illyrian Provinces, and to Prussia the territory taken from it in 1807. This Buonaparte refused. On this Francis of Austria joined the allies against his son-in-law, who declared he had found the marriage with Maria Louisa a precipice crowned with flowers, since it made him trust over much to the support of Austria. A series of battles were fought in August in the neighbourhood of *Dresden*, in which Buonaparte had the advantage, and Moreau, who was now in the Russian service, was killed. But his generals were unsuccessful in other parts. Bavaria forsook him and made peace with Austria, and his German allies began to fall off. At last, at *Leipzig*, on the 16th and 18th of October, 1813, was fought the deadliest battle on record. Russians, Prussians, Austrians, and Swedes were arrayed against the common enemy, and the Saxons forsook Buonaparte in the battle. Yet the fight was desperately contested by the French till they were entirely worn out, and had spent every round of ammunition. They were then forced to retreat, with the more terrible loss from the only stone bridge on the river Elster having been blown up. Fifteen thousand men were thus cut off; many of these were drowned, in trying to swim the river, and the rest had to lay down their arms. The killed and wounded on the side of the allies numbered 54,000. The French now withdrew beyond the Rhine; but when Austria again offered peace on the condition of France taking the Rhine, the Alps, and the Pyrenees as its boundaries, Buonaparte again refused.

30. Entrance of France by the Allies, 1814.—Fortune was now turning against France everywhere. In Spain, King Joseph and Marshal Jourdan were utterly routed by Wellington at *Vittoria*, and Joseph had to flee to the

frontier, leaving all his baggage, and the war soon raged round St. Sebastian and Pampeluna. In quite another part of Europe, on the coast of Dalmatia, English, Russians, and Montenegrins were allied against France, and Cattaro was taken by the men of the Black Mountain. In Germany the whole land rose against the French; Holland threw off the yoke, and Murat went back to Naples, hoping to secure himself by a separate peace. All that was left for Napoleon was to gather his forces to defend France itself. He restored the pope to Rome, and sent *Ferdinand VII.* back to Spain, so as to have no foreign ground on his hand. But already his own legislative body was beginning to use free language before him, the Bretons and Vendéans were preparing to rise against him, and the Bourbon princes were drawing near. *Charles, Count of Artois*, brother of *Lewis XVI.*, was in Flanders, and of his two sons, the *Duke of Angoulême* was with the Peninsular army, and the *Duke of Berry* in Jersey. The allies again offered peace on condition of France being cut short within its own boundaries as they stood before 1792; but Buonaparte again refused. On the 1st of January, 1814, the Prussians and Russians crossed the Rhine, the Austrians advanced on the Swiss border, the Swedes were in Flanders, and the English had passed the Pyrenees. Yet Napoleon had not lost hope, and this last campaign against the allies was as brilliant as any of the former ones. After losing a battle at La Rothière on the Seine, he suddenly turned northwards against Blücher, who had been ordered to march on Paris by the Marne, and defeated his army three times within eight days in the neighbourhood of Montmirail; then hastening back to the Seine, he met and defeated the Austrians at Montereau. But in the meantime Wellington had routed Soult at Orthez, and at Bordeaux the Duke of Angoulême was welcomed with eager enthusiasm. France was exhausted, and all Europe, eager to revenge the wrongs she had inflicted, was pouring in multitudes upon her. After following Blücher northwards, and being defeated by him at Laon, Napoleon at last determined to throw himself on to the rear of the allies instead of resisting them in front, hoping by this means to make them retreat, in order that they might not be cut off from Germany and destroyed by a rising of all the French people behind them. But the allies moved straight upon the capital. The cannon were heard at Paris, and Maria Louisa and

her child were sent for safety to Blois. Marmont made a last stand on the heights at *Montmartre*, with the boys of the military college to serve the guns. All was in vain ; he had to withdraw into Paris, and there made terms with the allies. Napoleon, hastening back to defend Paris, heard, after passing Fontainebleau on the evening of March 30th, that Paris had actually surrendered.

31. **The Peace of Paris, 1814.**—On the 31st of March, 1814, the allies entered Paris, and encamped in its parks and gardens. The working men would have fought if there had been anybody to lead them. The upper classes, who were in great part friendly to the Bourbons, welcomed the allies, and applauded the generals who had conquered the defenders of France. The allies were willing to let France have any government it chose, provided it were not that of Napoleon, the disturber of the peace of Europe ; with him they declared they would not treat. The senate declared him deposed, and he himself offered to abdicate in favour of his son. This was not accepted, and Marmont, with the remnant of the army, submitted to the allies. Buonaparte then signed an act of abdication for himself and his heirs on the 5th of April, 1814. On the 11th the treaty was signed by which he was to keep the sovereignty of the little island of Elba in the Mediterranean, with the title of emperor. His wife Maria Louisa received the duchies of Parma and Piacenza for herself and her son. There was now a provisional government, at the head of which was *Prince Talleyrand*. This man, eldest son of the noble family of *Talleyrand-Périgord*, had been forced into the priesthood in his youth, and had become Bishop of Autun. He had freed himself from all restraints of his order during the revolution, and had become one of Napoleon's most useful ministers. He now took the direction of affairs in France, and induced the senate to recall the old royal family, while he and the able men who worked with him made up sayings for them which might win the people, such as, "Only one Frenchman more," which was put into the mouth of the Count of Artois. On the 3rd of May, 1814, Lewis XVIII. entered Paris with all his family, and signed a treaty by which the French boundary was fixed at nearly the same point at which it had stood before the Revolution. France however kept all the places which, like Avignon and some parts of Elsass, had lain within its own boundaries, though belonging to foreigners,

as also some points on the Belgian frontier, with Montbeillard and part of Savoy, with its capital Chambéry. A congress was to meet at Vienna to arrange the affairs of Europe, after the overthrow of all old landmarks and institutions. Of the conquests of France the whole Netherlands were to form a single kingdom under the House of Orange, the conquests in Germany went mainly to Prussia, Bavaria, and Hanover, and four of the free cities got back their independence. The Italian princes, but not the commonwealths, got back their territories. Austria took back almost all that she had lost in Germany and was allowed to keep Venice, with the old Venetian dominions in Italy and on the Adriatic, in addition to the part of Lombardy that had formerly belonged to Austria. The Ionian Islands became a commonwealth under the protection of England. Thus France was to begin again with its old royal family and nearly its old boundaries. Lewis XVIII. called himself King of France and Navarre, but he was never crowned. He began his reign with Talleyrand for his adviser. He was an elderly man, large, inert, and gouty, shrewd and clever, and such an epicure that a pun turned *Louis Dixhuit* (18th) into *Louis des huitres* (~~of~~ of the oysters). A constitution had been drawn up by the senate, but he rejected it and gave them one of his own called the *charter*. It was really the more liberal of the two, but they were affronted that it was called his grant, and was not to spring from themselves. The disbanded soldiers were discontented; and violets were handed about with the whisper, "He will return in spring."

32. The Hundred Days, 1815.—Napoleon was encouraged to escape from Elba, and make one last attempt. He landed near Antibes on the 1st of March, 1815, and was hailed with rapture by his old soldiers. Ney, after strong promises of fidelity to Lewis XVIII., went over to him, and every regiment sent to meet him threw down its arms, and greeted him as a father. Lewis XVIII. fled to Ghent, and Buonaparte was received at Paris with transports of joy on the part of the soldiers and the mob. He found however that he could not re-establish his old despotism, and he proclaimed a constitution called the *Additional Act*, which established a Legislative Assembly of two chambers. On the 1st of June he held a gathering of deputies from all parts of France, which he called a *Champ de Mai*, in imitation of the old Frankish

kings. Talleyrand however saw so plainly that his cause was desperate that he followed the king in his flight, and every prince in Europe was resolved that the foe of all should not again establish himself. Every state raised its army once more, and Napoleon, swift as ever, and hoping to defeat them one by one, hurried to the Netherlands to overwhelm the English and the Prussians before they could unite. There, on the 16th of June, 1815, he attacked the Prussians at Ligny, and drove them back to Wavre; but Ney was less successful at Quatre Bras against a division of the English under the Prince of Orange. On the 18th, when Napoleon for the first time found himself personally opposed to the English under Wellington at Waterloo, he found it impossible to break their squares of infantry, and after a long day's fighting, his last reserve, the Imperial Guard, was completely broken on the heights of St. Jean. The Prussians coming up made the rout of the French so complete that all that was left for Napoleon was flight to Paris at the utmost speed. His brother Lucian, coming to his aid in adversity, tried to rouse him to decided measures, but he was stunned and crushed, and as the enemy marched on Paris, he left with his brother another abjuration in favour of his son. A provisional government was formed which required him to leave France and go to America, and on the 7th of July the allies again entered Paris and restored Lewis XVIII. Buonaparte found it impossible to sail for America, as the port was guarded by British ships, and he was forced to surrender to Captain Maitland of the Bellerophon. While he was taken to Plymouth harbour, the allies at Paris resolved to send him to the lonely rock of St. Helena, under the care of Sir Hudson Lowe, an English officer, who was to watch him too closely for a fresh attempt at escape. There he spent six years of repining and petty strife with his keeper, dictating at times very striking recollections, half true, half false; but his strength was breaking down under the hereditary malady of an internal cancer, and he died on the 5th of May, 1821.

Lewis XVIII. now reigned again, but the boundaries of France were again slightly altered. She lost Chambéry and part of the Belgian frontier. Murat, who had declared war on Austria and lost his kingdom, made an attempt to regain it, but he was seized by the Austrians and shot. Ney, whose promises to Lewis XVIII. had made his

desertion inexcusable, was tried and sentenced to be shot, his death causing great pity and indignation. The second occupation of Paris by the allies pressed more heavily than the first; the Prussians were allowed to revenge their past sufferings. Lewis XVIII. restored the treasures of art which had been stolen to adorn the Louvre, and every attempt was made to impress on the French the difference between lawful war and mere aggression. To secure peace, an allied army was quartered on them for three years. The country was greatly exhausted, and the strength and stature of her people is said never to have recovered the effects of the losses between 1789 and 1815.

CHAPTER X.

THE CHANGES SINCE THE REVOLUTION.

I. The Restoration, 1815.—France has done little since the Great Revolution but rest for a few years and then heave and struggle again. Lewis XVIII. was, like Charles II. of England, resolved not to go on his travels again. He had Talleyrand, *Blacas*, and *Décazes* for his advisers; he paid careful heed to the temper of the nation, and reigned with tolerable quietness. By the charter there was a *House of hereditary Peers* named by the king and a *Chamber of Deputies*. The mode of their election was changed several times, but the franchise was confined to so small a part of the nation that the Chamber of Peers was generally the more liberal body of the two, and often threw out reactionary measures which had been passed by the Chamber of Deputies. But of the king's brother the Count of Artois and his family it was said, "The Bourbons have forgotten nothing and have learned nothing;" for *Monsieur*, as according to the old custom the count was called, was known to wish to bring back all that was possible of the former royal power. Both brothers had been dissipated in their youth, but while Lewis had lapsed into easy indifferent free-thinking, Charles had become devout. He was under the guidance of the Jesuits, who had been restored by Pius VII., and were striving to bring

back the shattered power of the Church. Of Charles's two sons, the elder, the Duke of Angoulême, had married Maria Theresa, the daughter of Lewis XVI. She was so resolute a woman that Napoleon called her the only man of the family, but too grave, sad, and stern to be much loved. She had no children, and the hopes of the royalists were fixed on the Duke of Berry, until he was murdered at the opera on the night of the 13th of February, 1822, leaving a daughter and a posthumous son named *Henry*. There was much discontent and secret conspiracy throughout Europe, which the Congress of Vienna had parcelled out rather according to the claims of sovereigns than those of nations. In Spain there was a revolution which compelled Ferdinand VII. to accept a constitution, but in 1823 French troops were sent under the Duke of Angoulême, which restored the king to power, and he at once destroyed the constitution. There was jealousy between the old returned nobility and those who held Buonaparte's newly-coined titles, but, as long as Lewis XVIII. lived, disputes were kept in check by his unfailing tact and courtesy. He was a true son of Lewis XIV. in attention to etiquette, even when so gouty and feeble that he could hardly support himself. He used to say, "Punctuality is the politeness of kings." As his health declined matters fell more into the management of Monsieur, and Lewis, seeing what would be the end of his narrow policy, implored him to save the kingdom for his grandchild, Henry, Duke of Bourdeaux.

2. Charles X., 1824.—Lewis XVIII. died on the 17th of September, 1824, and was succeeded by *Charles X.*, the last king who was crowned at Rheims. He began his reign with the desire of bringing back the ascendancy of the clergy and of the crown, and giving most of his confidence to the old emigrant nobility. Under their influence and that of the Jesuits, steps were taken which angered the people. It was proposed that books and newspapers should be inspected before publication, and, when the Chamber of Deputies threw out the bill, there was an universal illumination. The charter was thought to be attacked, and when the king reviewed the National Guard, one legion greeted him with cries of "Long live the Charter," and the Duchesses of Angoulême and Berry with "Down with the Jesuits." The National Guard was dissolved, and great discontent followed. This reign however was remarkable for some important foreign

successes. In 1827 the fleet of France joined with those of England and Russia to win the victory of *Navarino* over the Turks, and in the next year Peloponnésos was completely freed from its Mussulman invaders by the help of the French troops. In the first half of 1830 the pirate state of *Algiers* was attacked, and the war begun, which, after many years of fighting, turned *Algeria* into a French colony.

3. *The Revolution of 1830.*—Charles X.'s last ministry under the *Prince of Polignac* led him into greater mistakes than any that he had made already. In March, 1830, the Chamber of Deputies, in answer to the speech from the Throne, requested the King to dismiss his ministers. Instead of so doing, Charles dissolved the chambers, and, when it was clear that the new elections were wholly unfavourable to the ministry, he put forth three ordinances which were distinctly against the law. By the first the liberty of the press was destroyed, no newspaper or pamphlet was to be published without leave. By the second the Chamber of Deputies was dissolved before it had met: in other words, the king took on himself to annul the elections. By the third the mode of election was altered again, and the franchise was still more restricted. Some of the newspapers were published nevertheless, and some of the judges declared that the ordinances were illegal. On July 27th the police were sent to break the presses of the refractory papers. The revolution now began, called the *Revolution of the Three days of July*, from the fighting having happened on the 27th, 28th, and 29th of that month. Barricades formed of carriages, paving-stones, and furniture, were set up in the streets; the tri-coloured flag waved from all the public buildings, and Marshal Marmont was directed to reduce the insurgents with the regular army. All the regiments of the line sympathized with the insurgents, so that Marmont must employ none but the guards, and, when they tried to force the barricades, they were shot down from the windows and crushed with paving-stones from the roofs. La Fayette, who had survived all the storms of the old revolution, proposed the formation of a provisional government. But, instead of this, deputies who had been elected came together and sent a protest to the king, but he took no notice. On the 28th several regiments went over to the insurgents, and Marmont, with 5000 men against 100,000, did his best to defend the Louvre and

was the last man to retreat, but he was forced to come to the king at St. Cloud and tell him his cause was lost to Paris. La Fayette took the command of the National Guard. The king withdrew the ordinances, but it was too late. Some were for a republic, but the deputies appointed the Duke of Orleans lieutenant-general of the kingdom. The Duke of Angoulême, the king's son, still tried to use force, and, on this proving hopeless, Charles, seeing no further hope for himself or his family, resigned his claims and those of his eldest son, only reserving the rights of his grandson. The chambers however would not accept the Duke of Bourdeaux, but first, on the 7th of August, passed certain amendments to the charter, and then elected the Duke of Orleans king, restoring once more the ancient title of *King of the French*. Meanwhile the deposed king with his family made their way to Cherbourg and embarked for England.

4. Louis Philippe king, 1830. — The new king, *Louis Philippe, Duke of Orleans*, who had already been chosen lieutenant-general of the kingdom, was the eldest son of that duke who had called himself *Egalité*, and had perished in the revolution. Bred up by the clever *Madame de Genlis*, he had been an intelligent youth, full of resource, and had distinguished himself in the battle of Valmy and again at Jemappes in 1792 under General Dumouriez. Later in the revolution all the family were arrested, except the daughter *Adelaide*, who was taken to England by Madame de Genlis, and Louis Philippe, who escaped into Switzerland, so destitute that he became a teacher in a school near Geneva. His brothers were released at the end of the Reign of Terror. He then joined them in England, where the youngest died, and the other soon after at Malta. After spending some time in America, he returned at the restoration, recovered his estates, and married the Sicilian princess *Maria Amelia*. He, with his wife and sister, lived at the *Palais Royal*, suspected by the Court of disaffection and self-interest, but very popular with the liberal party for the frankness and ease of their manners and their sympathies with the people. The close of the English civil wars now seemed to repeat itself. After a would-be despot like James II., it was time to have a liberal member of the royal family like William III. *Louis Philippe* reigned as a constitutional king chosen by the nation, with the tricolor, not the white flag of the Bourbon, as his ensign. There were to be two houses as

before, but the peers were no longer hereditary but nominated by the king. The franchise of the electors for the Chamber of Deputies was fixed at a payment of 200 francs or £8 in taxes. This was a wider franchise than before, but still confined to a very small class. Louis Philippe was served by many eminent men as ministers, of whom the most famous were *François Guizot*, of an old Huguenot family at Nîmes, and *Adolphe Thiers* of Marseilles. Both of these had worked their way to distinction through literature, especially history and criticism. The reign of the citizen king, as he liked to be called, was disturbed in its first years by two revolts at Lyons, by risings at Paris, and by several attempts on the king's life. The Duchess of Berry too, the mother of the young Duke of Bourdeaux, made a desperate attempt to raise La Vendée on her son's behalf in 1832, but she failed, and was captured in a hiding-place at the back of a chimney at Nantes. She was released after a short imprisonment.

5. Reign of Louis Philippe.—During the reign of Louis Philippe France seemed always on the brink of war, more than once with England. But no war of any importance took place in Europe. France interfered in the affairs of *Belgium*, which, soon after the revolution of 1830, became a separate kingdom from the Netherlands, as also in those of Spain, Portugal, Switzerland, and Italy. Besides this there were great disputes about the affairs of Syria, which *Mahomet Ali*, the Pasha of Egypt, had wrested from the Sultan. There was also a quarrel with England about the island of *Tahiti* in the Pacific, but no actual war followed. The only war of importance waged by France at this time was that which constantly went on with the native tribes in Algeria. Here the French settlers met with fierce resistance from the Arab chiefs, especially the high-spirited *Abd-el-Kader* who defended his country year after year against *Marshal Bugeaud* and the best French troops. The king's sons, the *Duke of Aumale* and the *Prince of Joinville*, distinguished themselves in this war, the one by land, the other by sea; and *Abd-el-Kader* at last surrendered. All the king's sons were young men of promise, and the eldest, *Philip*, called Duke of Orleans, was married to the *Princess Helen of Mecklenburg*, and was very popular. On the 13th of July, 1842, he was killed by leaping out of a carriage when the horses were running away, and left two

infant sons. This was the first blow to the prosperity of Louis Philippe. There was a great sentiment for the past glories of Napoleon throughout the country, and the king had gratified this feeling when in 1840 he brought the emperor's remains from St. Helena, and buried them with great splendour in a mausoleum at the church of *les Invalides* at Paris. The King of Rome, Napoleon's only child, had died at Vienna, but *Louis Napoleon*, the second son of Louis the former King of Holland and Hortense Beauharnais, tried to profit by the love for his name, and twice made a sudden appearance in France. The first time he made an attempt at Strassburg; this time he was let go. The second time was at Boulogne; he was now imprisoned, but after a few years he escaped. And though moderate men were fairly content with the orderly and peaceable government, those who had not property enough for the franchise chafed at being kept down, and held secret meetings, calling themselves *Red Republicans*, in contradistinction to the tricolor, the badge of the moderate. Towards the end of Louis Philippe's reign, there was much stir in Europe about the *Spanish marriages*. For a while England and France had acted together in Spanish matters. Ferdinand VII. left two daughters, *Isabel* and *Louisa*, the elder of whom succeeded to the crown of Spain, under the regency of her mother, Maria Christina. Her right was however disputed by her uncle, *Don Carlos*; but she was acknowledged both by England and France, and, after some years' warfare in the north of Spain, Don Carlos was driven out. It was now the wish of Louis Philippe to marry the queen and her sister to two of his sons, and he sounded the English ministers, as well as those of other states, respecting such a marriage. To this end Queen Victoria was invited to a visit to the French king at Eu, which was afterwards returned by him at Windsor. The scheme was generally disapproved throughout Europe, and Louis Philippe had to satisfy himself with marrying (in 1845) the Infanta Louisa to his son the Duke of Montpensier, in the hope of her succeeding to the Spanish crown if the queen, who was married the same day to her cousin Don Francisco, had no children. There was much indignation, not only among the European states, but among the French, who distrusted all signs of family ambition in their king. Another event did him much harm with the people. The *Duchess of Praslin*, daughter to one of Napoleon's old marshals, was found

murdered in her bed-room. Her husband was tried and found guilty, but he killed himself in prison, and many believed that his suicide had been allowed out of tenderness to his birth. The death of Madame Adelaide too was a great disaster to the king, for her influence had always been for vigour and uprightness.

6. The Revolution of 1848.—All this while the country was in many ways flourishing. Trade increased, and railways and other improvements were brought in. But there was a strong spirit of disaffection throughout the country, especially in Paris and the other great towns. On the one hand, the legitimists still clung to the grandson of Charles X. as their lawful king. This was Henry, Duke of Bourdeaux, but who now called himself *Count of Chambord*. On the other hand, besides political republicanism, socialist doctrines had widely spread. Above all, the narrow franchise shut out the mass of the people from any share in elections. The cry for parliamentary reform was general, but both the king and his minister, M. Guizot, set themselves obstinately against all reform. The Chambers of Peers and Deputies met on the 28th of December, 1847, when the king's speech declared that "the present institutions unchanged were quite sufficient." An amendment to the address led to debates which lasted, all through the month of January, in which M. Guizot's whole policy, foreign and domestic, was fiercely attacked. The whole country was in a seething state of discontent, which poured itself out in speeches at banquets or political dinners, and the debates whether these should be permitted of course only made the public more bent on them. An immense banquet was fixed for the 20th of February, 1848, to be given in tents in one of the great avenues of Versailles. More than 100,000 persons were to take part in it, many belonging to the National Guard, and it was understood to be a manifestation against the king and Guizot. The banquet was forbidden by the police and was given up. An attempt was made in the Chamber of Deputies on the 22nd to impeach the ministers, but it was rejected by a large majority. The people began to assemble in great numbers on the 22nd, many of them unaware that the dinner was not to take place. The next day, when the National Guard was called on to disperse the people, it not only would not fire on them, but joined with them. Guizot now sent in his resignation, and it was hoped that peace was restored. A chance shot was

fired by an unknown hand near a detachment of soldiers, who thought themselves attacked, and fired in return, unhappily killing and wounding as many as fifty. The sight roused the whole of the city to madness, they looked on the army as murderers, there was but one roar for vengeance, and barricades were set up at the end of every street. The king sent for M. Thiers, the leader of the opposition, and bade him form a ministry; but it was too late, the mob were all up in arms, they would not trust the king, the soldiers would not fight with them, and cries of Reform were everywhere heard. Nothing short of abdication would content them. "Mount your horse," said the queen, "and, if necessary, know how to die." The king went into the court to review a few regiments which were there drawn up, but there were two battalions of National Guards who shouted for Reform and "Down with Guizot." The king, disheartened, returned: he first named M. Odilon Barrot as minister, and then signed an abdication in favour of his little grandson, the *Count of Paris*, and on the 24th of February, 1848, set off for England. It was the third time a fruitless abdication had been made in favour of a child, and the Duchess of Orleans bravely took her two young sons to present them to the Chamber of Deputies. The moderate would have gladly hailed her as regent, but the crowd burst in, and her friends hurried her away. All the members of the Orleans family made their way to England. The king only lived till 1850 when he ended his strange, chequered career at Claremont House.

7. The Second Republic, 1848. — So ended the experiment of a constitutional monarchy on the English model. On February 24th a provisional government was formed, among whom *Alphonse de Lamartine* was the most famous. The next day he declared that the ensign of France should still be the tricolor, and not the red flag of the extreme republicans. On the 26th the republic was solemnly proclaimed, and on the 5th of March the chamber was dissolved, and a new assembly of one chamber was chosen to meet on the 20th of April to form a constitution. Meanwhile it was a disappointment to the mob of Paris to feel no great change in their own condition. It was in fact equality of wealth, not equality of rights, that they wanted, and they had felt their strength, and that of the barricades which they so easily could set up. All sorts of public works were devised to keep them quiet on high pay. On the 4th May the assembly met

and appointed an executive of nine, of whom Lamartine was one. On June 13th the assembly voted, in opposition to Lamartine, that *Louis Napoleon Buonaparte*, the same who had made the disturbances at Strassburg and Boulogne, and who had been elected a member of the assembly, should be allowed to take his seat. On May 15th there had been a great tumult, and on June 23rd the mob rose again, when the barricades were fiercely defended for three days by the red republicans against the tricoloured, and the good *Archbishop Affre* of Paris, in the endeavour to calm the fury of his people, was killed by a shot. *General Brea* was treacherously murdered, but *General Cavaignac*, an able man trained in the Algerine wars, brought the regular army and the National Guard so to act on the mob that the conquest of order was secured, and peace restored, though not without many deaths and many transportations to Cayenne. Cavaignac became chief of the executive government, and brought things back to order, abolishing the national workshops, and showing the "Reds" that they were no longer to be bribed. In all these revolutions the whole of France helplessly followed the fate of the capital, being, in fact, so entangled by the great net-work of offices, all centering in the government, that all were powerless to show any manifestation of their own will.

8. The Presidency, 1848.—In the course of September and October the assembly, after reviewing possible constitutions, decided on vesting the executive power in a president, elected for four years by universal suffrage, but without the power of being re-elected, doing away with the Chamber of Peers, and appointing a Legislative Assembly of one chamber, also chosen by universal suffrage. The four years' presidency was seemingly an imitation of the United States of America. The chief candidates for the presidency were General Cavaignac and Louis Napoleon Buonaparte, who now reaped the benefits of the passion for his name which existed in those who were proud of his uncle's glory but were too young to have felt the misery it caused. He was chosen president on the 10th of December, 1848, and on the 20th he was admitted by the assembly. He swore to be faithful to the democratic republic, and spoke of his mission being to found a republic in the interest of all. Cavaignac now withdrew, with great respect and esteem from all Europe. The new president had a ministry like a king, and changed his ministers

several times. Early in 1849, when the Romans, like the French, had set up a republic, troops were sent by the French Republic to put down the Republic of Rome, and the pope was brought back to reign for twenty-one years under the protection of a French garrison. The army was so devoted to the name of Buonaparte that the president had the power of overawing Paris, while he had only to wait to see the conflicting parties in the Legislative Assembly clash to have an excuse for interfering. On May 31, 1851, a change was made in the electoral law by which the franchise was confined to those who had lived three years in the same place. In 1851 Buonaparte began to demand a change of the law which forbade his own re-election, and in various ways began to show his intention of destroying the constitution. Later in the year he demanded the restoration of universal suffrage. Various disputes went on between him and the assembly, and at last, on December 2nd, 1851, he declared the assembly dissolved and universal suffrage restored. Along with this he proposed that the people should vote on a new constitution, which should make him president for ten years, with a nominal senate and assembly, much like his uncle in 1799. At the same time he seized and imprisoned General Cavaignac, M. Thiers, and other of the most eminent men in the country. The assembly declared the president deposed, but his soldiers drove them out, and for the next two days they slew whom they would by Buonaparte's orders. Others were sent to the pestilential colony of Cayenne to die there. This rebellion of the executive chief against the national legislature is called in French a *coup d'état*.

9. The Second Empire, 1852.—The new constitution was now put to what is called a *plébiscite* or vote of the people, after the usual way of misapplying Latin names. For the Roman *plebiscitum* was a real vote of the assembly, while in the French *plébiscite* there is no real choice, but only to say whether a man shall keep the power which he has already got. So a vast majority of the people, voting in this fashion, approved of the new constitution. So later in the year, when he called on the people to declare him emperor, they did the same, and on December 2nd, 1852, the anniversary of his rebellion, he took the title, calling himself Napoleon III. This was like Lewis XVIII., as there never was Napoleon II. any more than a Lewis XVII. As he had before sworn to be faithful to the

republic, so he now gave out that the empire should be peace. He had already, while president for ten years, confiscated the property of the Orleans princes, and his principle seems to have been to keep the nation under the tightest possible hand, while preventing them from finding it out by constant amusement and excitement, by the splendour of a brilliant Court, and by material prosperity such as the constant warfare of the elder Napoleon had prevented. He married *Eugenie de Montijo*, Countess of Teba, who made his Court a place of fascination and display, the centre of fashion, and the chief example of expense. One son was born of this marriage and was called the *Prince Imperial*. A treaty of commerce was made with England which much increased the trade and wealth of the nation. Much was done to make Paris more than ever the toy-shop of the world, and by the widening of streets and overthrow of old buildings to make barricades more difficult. It was said that both there and elsewhere the improvements were so conducted as to shew a desire to efface all recollection of the old royalty.

10 The Crimean War, 1854.—Everything hinged on the Court, and immense display and extravagance were there encouraged, while the centralization of everything rendered the nation helpless to think or act for themselves. To dazzle the people with the glory which they had always loved, Louis Napoleon, though he had said that the empire should be peace, drew them into one war after another. His scheme was to attack the great military powers of Europe one after another, but each time to get, if possible, the help of some independent nation, to give the thing a good look. Thus his first war was made in alliance with England, in order to keep up the power of the Turk over the Christian nations of south-eastern Europe when Russia proposed to deliver them. The allies together attacked *Sebastopol* in the Crimea, in the autumn of 1854, winning the battle of the *Alma* (September 20th) on their first landing, and then sharing the terrible toils and privations of the siege, and together also gaining the victory of *Inkerman*, when, on the night of the 5th of November, the Russians made a night attack on the camp. After a terrible winter, during which the trenches were advanced, there was an assault in June upon the *Redan* and *Malakoff* forts. The allies were beaten back. On September 5th, the forts were again attacked. The French captured the

Malakoff, the English were beaten at the Redan. But the Russians now evacuated Sebastopol, after a siege of three hundred and forty-nine days. The allies entered it, and some months later peace was made.

11. The War of Italian Liberation, 1859.—The second war was with Austria. That power had received Lombardy and Venetia at the Congress of Vienna, and ruled it so oppressively that there had been continual efforts on the part of the Italians, both there and elsewhere, to set themselves free. France now availed herself of these to attack Austria. In 1859 there was a general movement to make *Victor Emmanuel*, King of Sardinia, King of all Italy. The Austrians invaded the Sardinian territory, and the ruler of France gave help to Victor Emmanuel. He loudly boasted that he would free Italy from the Alps to the Adriatic. On the 4th of June, 1859, the French and Italian troops gained a great victory at *Magenta*, which drove the Austrians out of Lombardy, and on the 24th they defeated them again on the Mincio at *Solferino*. Instead of going on to the Adriatic, Buonaparte now drew back, met Francis Joseph of Austria at *Villa-Franca*, and made terms, which the King of Sardinia had to accept. Lombardy was added to Sardinia, but Austria kept Venetia, while Buonaparte himself took the ancient duchy of Savoy and the county of Nizza. He still kept his troops at Rome, and did all he could to keep Italy disunited. But the Italians were strong enough to stand without him, and obtained their united kingdom; only for Rome and Venetia they had still to wait.

12. The Mexican War, 1862.—Two of the great military powers, Russia and Austria, had thus been attacked with success. A longer time passed before the third attempt on Prussia. Meanwhile there was a smaller war in *Mexico*, which began in 1862 with a joint expedition of England, France, and Spain. But England and Spain presently withdrew. France however continued its interference in Mexican affairs, and in 1863 the *Archduke Maximilian* of Austria was set up with the title of Emperor under French protection. He was supported only by a party in the country, while others were still for a republic. Maximilian put out a proclamation, threatening death to all the other side who should be taken in arms. Being himself taken in 1867, he was shot. About the same time came the first beginnings of dispute with Prussia, which by its victories in 1866 had become the head of North Germany.

There was a scheme for France buying the duchy of *Luxemburg*, which had been held by the king of the Netherlands as a member of the German Confederation, but which did not form part of the new North German body. The French scheme however was hindered, and Luxemburg remained a separate duchy under its former sovereign. In all these ways signs were given that the French power abroad was waning. At home some sense of the helplessness of a people under an almost absolute monarchy made the emperor try to relax his hold, and bring in liberal ministers and a more liberal policy. Paris and other places had begun to return members strongly opposed to despotism, and the legislative body to shew signs of greater independence. In December, 1869, under the ministry of *M. Emile Ollivier*, some changes were proposed in the constitution to give the chambers greater power. This was called the *crowning of the edifice*, and it was confirmed as usual by a *plébiscite* on the 8th of May, 1870. Louis Napoleon was failing in health and vigour, corruption was at work in every office, and the army, though splendid in appearance, was ill-supplied and cheated to an almost incredible amount by those whose duty it was to provide for it. Surges of discontent were rising, and Louis Napoleon looked to some fresh and brilliant war to dazzle the eyes and win the hearts of the people.

13. The Franco-German War, 1870.—A spark was now only wanting to light the flame, and this spark came from Spain. Isabel II. had been deposed in 1868, and the country had been without a king or any settled government till, in 1870, *Leopold of Hohenzollern*, a distant kinsman of the Prussian royal family, was invited to assume the crown. To this Louis Napoleon would not consent, and there was great indignation shewn in France. The prince resigned his candidature, but Louis Napoleon insisted that his ambassador should demand a pledge from the King of Prussia that it should not be renewed. This pressure King William could not but regard as insulting and meant to bring on war; he would not attend to the ambassador, and there was an immediate outcry all over France that the majesty of the great nation had been affronted, and must be avenged. On these grounds France declared war in 1870. It was doubtless hoped that, as England had helped in the attack on Russia and Sardinia in the attack on Austria, so Southern Germany

would have joined in the attack on Prussia ; but instead of this, the King of Bavaria, the second in power of the German princes, offered his support to Prussia from the beginning, and all Germany joined in the war. Thus what it was hoped might have been a war of France and Southern Germany against Prussia, became a war of France against all Germany. In the beginning of August, 1870, the French armies were mustering on the Rhine, full of boasts of again marching to Berlin ; and Buonaparte and his young son came to their head, putting forth proclamations full of the grand words which the French love. The French armies got a little way on German ground, and on the 2nd of August bombarded *Saarbrücken*. The fighting began by the Prince Imperial firing the first cannon, and his father sent back a telegram about the poor boy's baptism of fire. Two days later the war began in earnest, and within three days, on August the 4th and 6th, the French were utterly defeated at *Weissenberg*, *Wörth*, and *Forbach*. At *Wörth* *Marshal Mac Mahon* was altogether defeated by the Crown Prince of Prussia. The rest of the war was waged wholly within the territory of France. Strassburg was besieged by the Germans, and the Crown Prince advanced on the Vosges. Mac Mahon fell back on Chalons ; *Bazaine*, whom the emperor now made Commander-in-chief, was at Metz. He was attacked and beaten on the 14th August at *Courcelles*, on the east side of Metz ; and as he did not immediately make his escape, the Prussians succeeded in making their way round to the west side of Metz, thus cutting off *Bazaine* from Paris. He tried to force his way through, but was beaten back in the great battles of *Vionville* and *Gravelotte* on the 16th and the 18th August. Mac Mahon was now ordered by the Court to march to *Bazaine's* relief, although this exposed him to almost certain ruin. He was intercepted by the Crown Prince of Prussia at *Beaumont* near Sedan, and surrounded in the great battle of *Sedan*, which ended in the surrender of the emperor and Mac Mahon himself along with the whole of the army (September 2nd). Buonaparte was sent to the Castle of Wilhelmshöhe in Cassel.

14. The Siege of Paris, 1870.—There was no longer any possibility of hiding the disasters of the army from the rest of France. Paris was thunderstruck, but full of rage, and visited all on the fallen ruler. His wife, who had been left regent, was helpless to deal with the storm, and

fled to England. *M. Jules Favre* proposed in the chamber the deposition of Louis Napoleon Buonaparte and his dynasty, and *M. Thiers* proposed the formation of a *Government of National Defence*. A crowd broke into the chamber, and neither resolution could be regularly carried; but Buonaparte was dethroned by general acclamation, a republic was declared, and a provisional government formed, including *M. Jules Favre*, *M. Gambetta*, and others. The same day (September 5th) that the republic was declared, the King of Prussia entered Rheims. Laon surrendered a few days later. A German king was again in the old seat of Frankish power. The Germans offered to the provisional government to retreat, provided Elsass and German Lorraine were yielded to them; but *M. Favre* answered that not an inch of ground nor a stone of a fortress should be yielded. The Germans advanced, leaving divisions of their army to besiege Metz, Strassburg, and Phalsburg, and in the middle of September they laid siege to Paris, the King of Prussia and his eldest son fixing their headquarters at Versailles. The general in command at Paris was named *Trochu*, a brave and honest man, but not enterprising, perhaps from knowing his troops better than they knew themselves. There was immense talk and enthusiasm; much energy was spent in destroying the eagles and initials of the late ruler, and in offering garlands to the statue of Strassburg in the Place de la Concorde, where almost every available man was enrolled in the National Guard or the *Garde Mobile*. The Germans however put a stop to all irregular peasant warfare by burning every village where they were fired at, and shooting every man, not a soldier, who carried arms, while they spared all who did not fight, and respected property as much as they could. Hopes were entertained that an army would come home from Algiers, and *General Faidherbe* in the north-west actually collected a considerable force; but Strassburg was forced to surrender on the 28th of September, Metz and Phalsburg in the next month, and the besiegers, marching against *Faidherbe*, kept him in check, and twice defeated him at *Amiens*, also at *Bapaume* and *St. Quentin*. *General Bourbaki*, who was in command of another army, was driven over the Swiss frontier, and Paris was left without hope of relief. Meanwhile the Germans entered *Amiens*, *Orleans*, *Tours*, *Rouen* and *Le Mans*. The king kept his headquarters at Versailles and it was there that in the

great hall of Lewis XIV., he received the title of *German Emperor* from the princes and cities of Germany. Meanwhile in Paris the blockade had long been close; all provisions were failing, though horse-flesh, dogs, cats, and rats were eaten, and all communication with the outer world was only by means of carrier-pigeons and balloons, for which a regular post was organised. Gambetta actually came out in a balloon to endeavour to raise the spirit of the country, but though there seemed to be power of endurance, there was little courage for fighting. Whenever there was an attempt at a sally against the enemy, the National Guard shewed that it could not be depended on, and the officers were only exposed to wounds and death by their bravery; and all the time the moderate party and red republicans were full of mutual hatred and distrust, fully expecting treason from one another. The German shells were destroying house after house: the cellars were the only safe places, and, as winter set in, want of fuel made the misery almost unbearable. Surrender had become necessary; but it was difficult to say what was the government to make the terms. In December the provisional government had moved to Bourdeaux, where a newly-chosen assembly was sitting, when M. Thiers was now made head of the executive, and on February 26th a treaty was agreed on, which on the 28th was confirmed by the assembly. Nearly all Elsass was restored to Germany, with the German-speaking part of Lorraine, and the fortress of Metz as a military post for its defence. But Toul, Verdun, and Nancy were left to France. France had gradually to pay £200,000,000 of our money, and the German army was gradually to leave France as each instalment was paid. Part of Paris was to be occupied by German troops, but the emperor did not himself make a public entry. When this treaty was confirmed, Louis Napoleon Buonaparte was again more solemnly deposed, as the person answerable for the loss. He was presently set free, and came to England, where he spent the rest of his days.

15. *The Commune, 1871.*—The *Red Republicans* were filled with rage at the terms of the treaty, declaring that they were betrayed, that their generals had sold them to the enemy, and that they would not give up their arms. They closed the gates, barricaded the streets, armed every one, and prepared for another siege, while M. Thiers and the government were obliged to wait at Versailles till

their captive armies should be sent home from Germany. Within Paris the old *commune* of the city was supposed to rule, the word *Communist*, meaning a person who thinks that wealth and lands should be in common, having only an accidental resemblance to the word *Commune*, or Municipality. The rule of the Commune revived some of the old revolutionary ideas of 1793. Churches were closed, priests imprisoned, nuns turned out of convents, sisters of charity driven from their works. So strong was the hatred to the name of Buonaparte that the great column in the *Place Vendôme*, cast from the cannon of the elder Buonaparte's victories, was thrown down. *Clément Thomas* and another general who had incurred dislike by trying to discipline the National Guard during the former siege, were seized and shot. And when Communist soldiers who had been taken prisoners by the troops of Versailles were shot in cold blood, the Communists seized on *Archbishop Darboy* and about two hundred other persons, and declared that they should be hostages. Mac Mahon and his army had, in the mean time, been released, and laid siege to the miserable city, its twelfth siege, and its saddest. The Communists forced hundreds of reluctant men to use arms in their cause, and when they found their cause hopeless, their rage knew no bounds. They shot the archbishop and about fifty more of the hostages; and in their madness they set fire to the city, and the flames of the Tuileries and Hôtel de Ville lighted the troops on their way to exact a terrible reckoning. Women were even said to throw petroleum into empty houses and public buildings. Both sides were almost frenzied with rage as the soldiers fought their way in, and the Communists made their desperate stand in the burial-ground of *Père la Chaise*. They were cut down, and a horrible slaughter was made of men and women alike. Large bodies of troops were marched to Versailles, many shot at once, others tried and then shot, or sentenced to imprisonment, or transportation to New Caledonia.

16. The Third Republic, 1872.—M. Thiers now did his best to build up the ruins of the state. Louis Napoleon Buonaparte had gone to England soon after his release, but with broken health, so that he soon died, and his son was not old enough to come forward. The second son of the Duke of Orleans had actually fought in the army of the Loire, under the name of his ancestor

Robert le Fort, and the whole family returned to France as private persons. As the Count of Chambord, *Henry V.* as the legitimists call him, was childless, and the Count of Paris was his next heir, the legitimists and Orleanists hoped to join and bring back a king of the old line. But the Count of Chambord put forth a reply that he would reign on his forefathers' throne if he were recalled, not by the choice of the nation, but as king by the grace of God, most Christian king, and eldest son of the Church. This was an answer which he and every one else knew must shut him out from the throne, and the French decided on a republican government with a president. Their wrath for the general weakness and ill-management of the war was vented in a trial of Marshal Bazaine for treason in the surrender of Metz. The decision was against him, and he was imprisoned in the isle of St. Margaret, in the Gulf of Lyons, but with his wife's assistance he managed to make his escape, not without grave imputation on the honour and truth of both. On the re-ignation of M. Thiers, in 1873, a vote of the assembly gave the presidency to Marshal Mac Mahon for a term of seven years. Mac Mahon, however, retired in 1879, and was succeeded by M. Grévy. The present constitution takes the form of a republic, with a President and his ministers and two Legislative Chambers, and late events have shewn that this is the form of government which the French nation at large is determined to support

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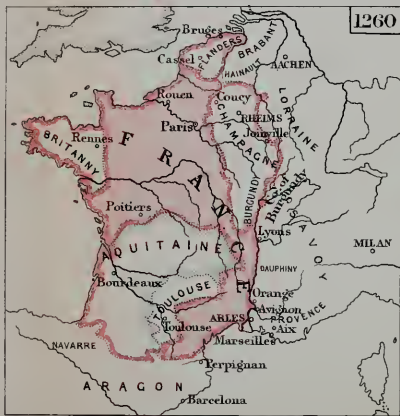
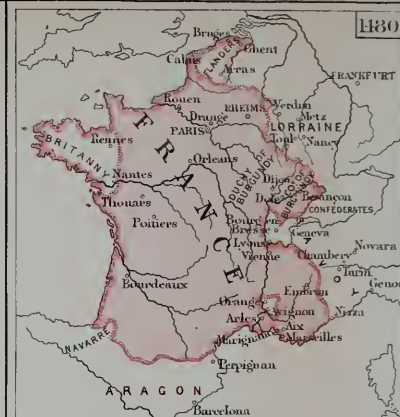
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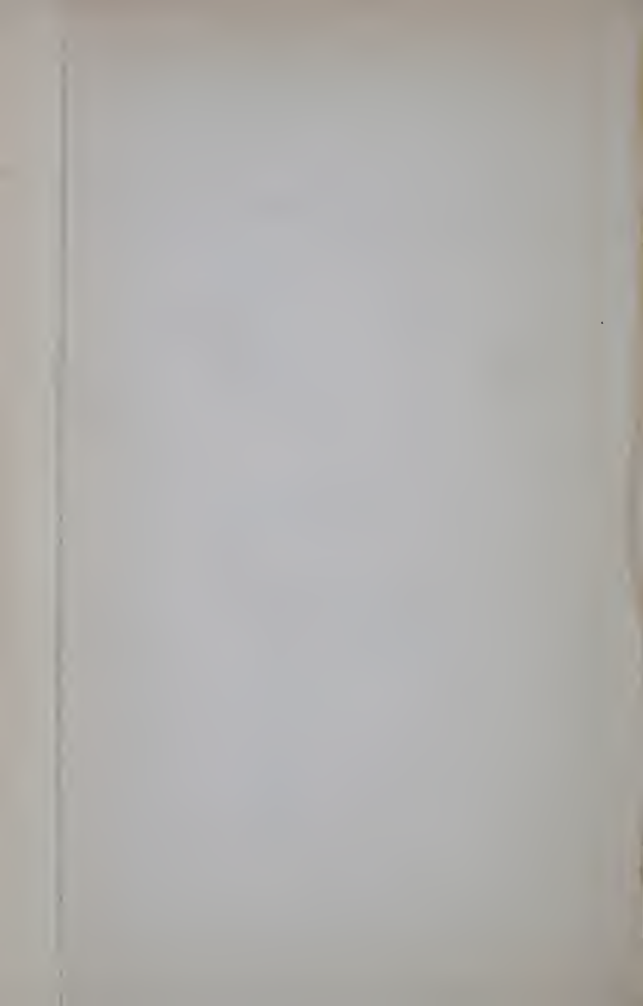
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
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